

CHINA
Crackdown

IN THESE TIMES

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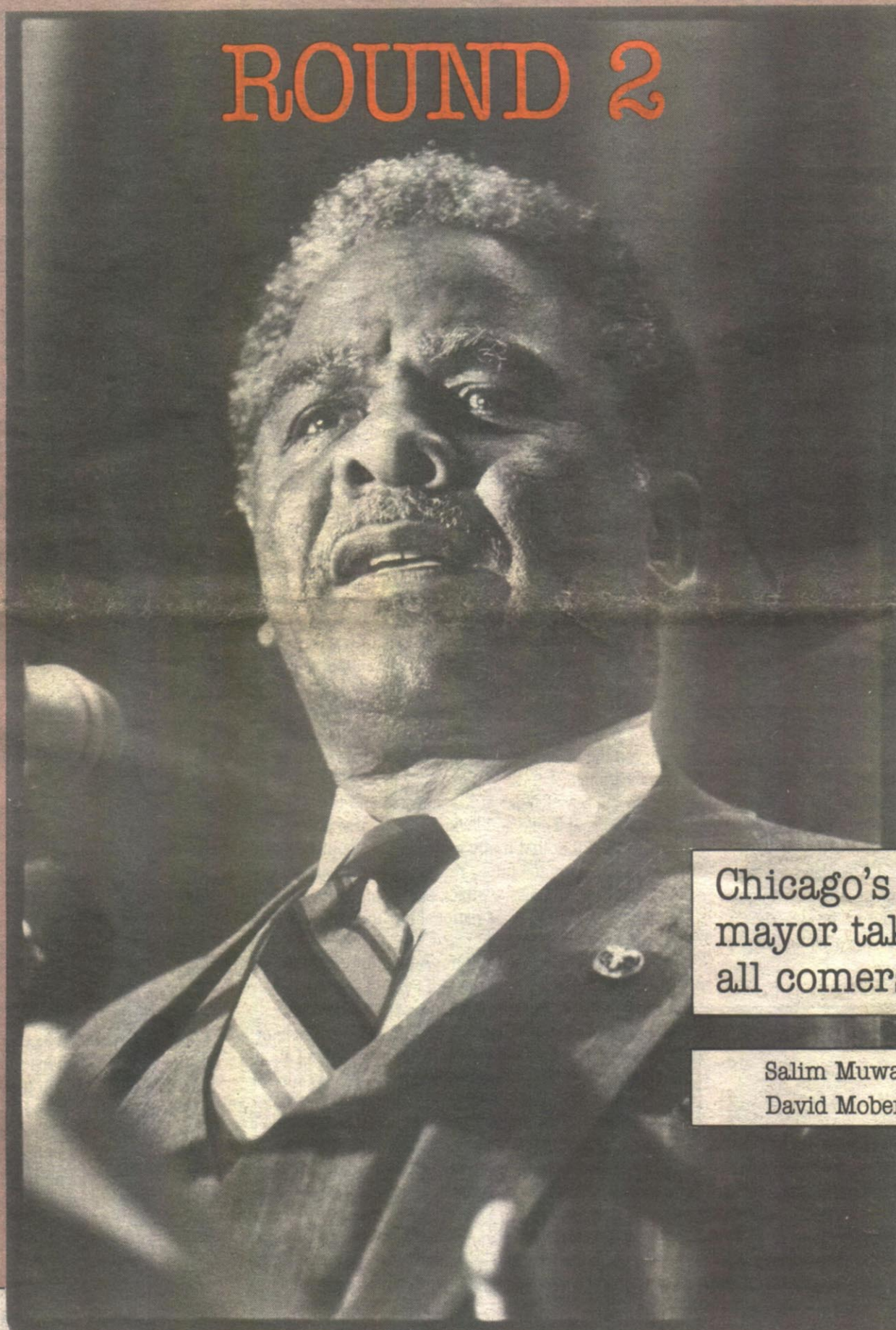
JAN. 28-FEB. 3, 1987

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PAGES 7-10

Harold Washington:

ROUND 2



Chicago's embattled
mayor takes on
all comers.

Salim Muwakkil page 11
David Moberg page 12

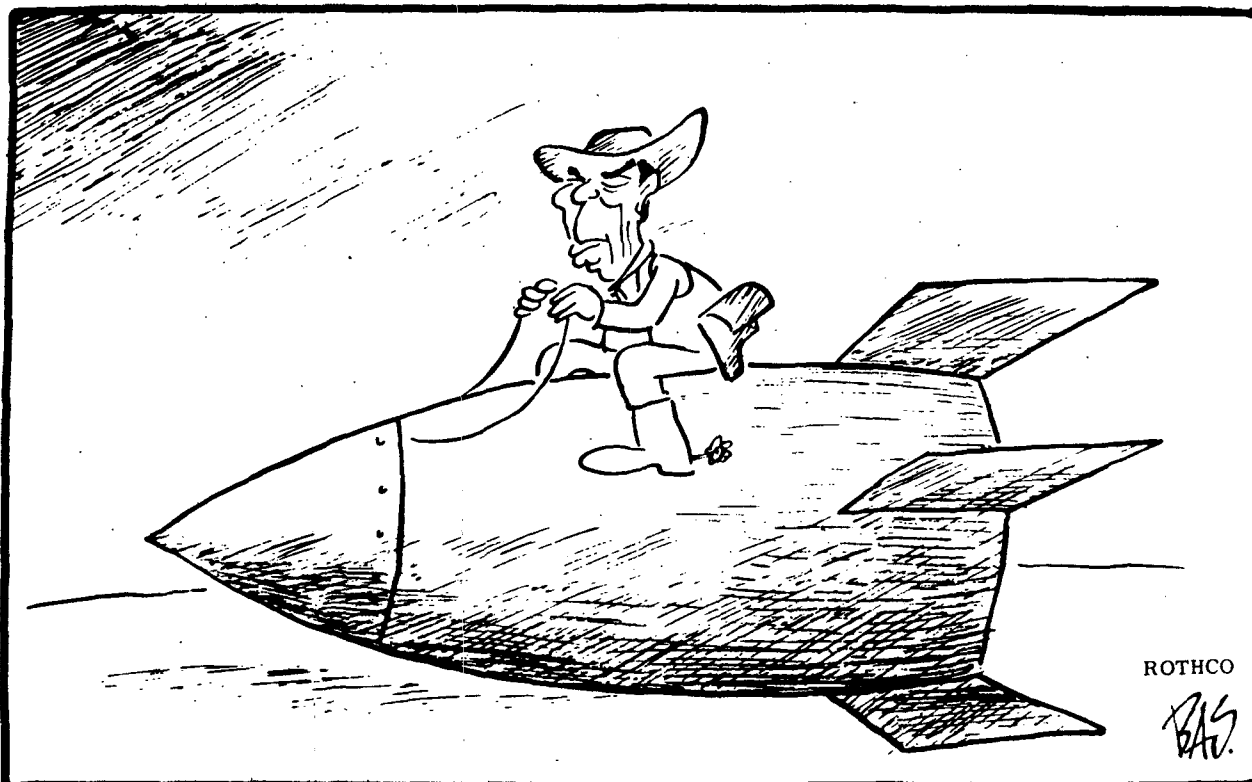
U.S. violates
ABM treaty

PAGE 2

Picturing Hans Haake

PAGE 20

Marc Pokempner



U.S. violates the ABM treaty

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, signed and ratified as part of the original SALT Treaty in 1972, limited the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems to one for each side. It also banned each side from developing, testing or deploying sea- or space-based ABM systems. The most important treaty ever signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, it is the only arms control pact that actually stopped the production of weapons systems.

For four years the Reagan administration has charged that by building a radar installation at Krasnoyarsk in south-central Russia, the Soviet Union is violating the terms of the ABM treaty, which forbid building advanced radar systems except at a country's periphery. But at the same time it was charging Soviet violations, the U.S. was installing advanced radar facilities at American bases in Thule, Greenland and at Fylingdales Moor in Great Britain—bases that are certainly not on the periphery of the U.S.

In Denmark, which has controlled Greenland for two centuries, a majority in the parliament is threatening an investigation of the radar facility. But in the U.S., the treaty violations have yet to attract any attention in Congress.

The importance of radar: The restraints on new

radar installations were one of the most important parts of the ABM negotiations. Radar systems were a necessary and extremely visible component of any ABM system. By limiting their deployment, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators believed they could create an easily verifiable ban on new ABM systems.

The old dish-style radars were suitable merely to warn a country of attack, but did not provide sufficient notice or accuracy to allow incoming missiles to be destroyed by an ABM system. By contrast, what are called large phased-array radars (LPARs) allow extremely accurate tracking over a far greater distance. Located by the site to be protected, they could provide the necessary guidance for an ABM system.

The ABM treaty permitted the installation of LPARs around the one site that was to be protected from attack. But by forbidding the installation of other LPARs except at the periphery, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators believed they were limiting the use of these radars to early warning.

Both the Soviet radar at Krasnoyarsk and the U.S. installations at Thule and Fylingdales clearly violate Article VI of the ABM treaty in which the countries agree "not to deploy in the future radars for early warning of strategic ballistic missile attack except at locations along the periphery of its national territory and oriented outward."

According to John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, the radar at Thule and Fylingdales could eventually be employed as part of a strategic defense system using ground-based interceptor rockets—one of the systems that the administration is now talking about deploying in the early '90s. Experts here are less sure of the precise use of the Krasnoyarsk radar, which is not near a city or missile site and which uses low-frequency waves that are ill-suited for an ABM system. Indeed, there is some speculation that it was built in southern Siberia merely to avoid the higher costs of building it in the frozen north.

But from the treaty's standpoint, actual violation, not the country's underlying motive, is important. "You can't verify intent. Only capability counts," Pike says.

Legal sophistries: The Reagan administration has tried to use the Soviet violation at Krasnoyarsk to cast doubt not only upon the ABM treaty, but also upon the utility of any arms control treaty with the Soviet Union. At the same time, it has brushed aside with legal sophistries Soviet complaints and timid congressional inquiries about Thule and Fylingdales.

At Senate Armed Service Committee hearings in February and May 1985 on treaty violations, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle dismissed Soviet complaints as "frivolous" (see story on page 6). "They

have tended, in response to what we have to say to them, to raise frivolous issues, often paralleling the same area of concern that we have expressed to them," Perle said.

Perle defended the new radars on the grounds that they were not newly installed but merely "grandfathered" or "upgraded" versions of the dish radar at those bases. When Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) asked him about Thule and Fylingdales, Perle replied, "Yes, there are early-warning radars at both these locations that are being upgraded by the phased-array radar technology. I think the treaty is silent on the issue of upgrading existing radars, and therefore there are no restrictions on the upgrading of existing radars."

Nunn then asked, "Were those radars not ever mentioned in the previous negotiations—the ABM negotiations and so forth?"

Perle replied, "I do not believe they were mentioned, Sen. Nunn. I think the Soviets know very well that those radars are not capable of defeating the object or purpose of the treaty, which is a limitation on radars for anti-ballistic missile purposes.... They are being upgraded consistent with the treaty, which makes no reference to the upgrading of existing sites."

But the ABM treaty specifically forbids the deployment of new LPARs and it makes a clear distinction between the older "non-phased" radars and the LPARs. LPARs are no more "upgraded" versions of the old dish radar than a desktop computer is an upgraded version of a calculator. "It's a totally different system," Pike says.

Indeed, in its own statement charging the Soviets with violating the ABM treaty, the Pentagon states unequivocally, "The ABM treaty limits the deployment of ballistic missile early-warning radars, including large phased-array radars used for that purpose, to locations along the periphery of the national territory of each party and requires that they be oriented outward."

Both John Rhinelander, who was legal adviser to the ABM negotiations, and Gerard C. Smith, the chief negotiator, believe that the Thule and Fylingdales installations violate the treaty. "I think they are not consistent with the precise language of the treaty," Smith says.

Smith rejects Perle's argument that they are simply

INSIDE STORY

upgraded versions of the older radars. "Certainly in the case of Fylingdales, it is not even on the site of the old radar. It is some distance away. I don't see how you can modernize by building a new one. That is like saying the [nuclear-powered] battleship *Iowa* is a modernization of the battleship *Missouri*. This is what we have been criticizing Soviets for when they say the SS-25 is a modernization of the SS-13."

Danish protest: Whether Congress takes the administration's ABM violations seriously may depend on the outcome of the Danish protests. The Danish government has so far accepted the Reagan administration's explanation, and on January 27 the Danish foreign minister is scheduled to meet with representatives of parliament to head off a parliamentary investigation of the radar facility. If the Danish parliament does not decide to investigate, Senate and House members, unwilling to act simply on the basis of a Soviet complaint, may decide to investigate the matter.

Even before the current revelation about Thule, the base there was a sore point for many Danes. In 1941 the Danish ambassador to Washington signed over Greenland to the U.S. for the war's duration. For three years after the war, the Danes tried to get the Americans to leave. Then, in 1951, the Danes signed an agreement to allow the American bases there.

Now the postwar resentments are resurfacing. Jorgen Dragsdahl, the foreign editor of *Information*, the Danish daily that broke the Thule story, says, "This has to do with how a big ally treats a smaller ally. Danes are asking, can we rely on the Americans?"

CONTENTS

The Inside Story: U.S. violates ABM	2
Another arms trafficking caper	3
In Short	4-5
Richard Perle snubs Europeans	6
China crackdown	7
Chinese students speak out	8-10
Harold Washington: round two	11-13
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Populists and the Rainbow	16
Everybody's Business by David Kotz	17
In Print: Political history	18-19
Media Beat	20
In the Arts: picturing Hans Haake	20-21
Classifieds	23
Life in Hell	23
Native Son	24

By Nelson Valdes
and Jan Knippers Black

This is the first in a two-part series on ships involved in illegal arms trafficking in Latin America.

THE SECRET WORLD OF INTERNATIONAL ARMS trafficking has played havoc with the captain and crew of a Danish ship called the *Pia Vesta*. Since last June, when they were arrested by Panamanian authorities, the eight Danish nationals have been held inside the mysterious ship, which was laden with arms from Eastern Europe.

Just where the arms were headed before the ship was captured remains a puzzle. The Salvadoran government, along with leftist rebels in Peru and Colombia, have all come under suspicion as the possible recipients. But an increasing number of Latin American journalists and Central American diplomatic sources believe the arms were headed for the U.S.-backed contra rebels. And who sent the arms is as intriguing a mystery as who was to receive them.

The story begins: In early June 1986 the *Pia Vesta* made its way toward Peruvian waters. The ship, owned by Joergen Jensen's Vesta shipping company of Svendborg, Denmark, and chartered by SA-Chartering APS of Copenhagen, left the East German port of Rostock on May 5 loaded with 200 tons of weapons and 32 military trucks. The commercial transaction was carried out by the East German state enterprise in charge of foreign trade and Sinato International, Inc. The cargo manifest listed Marnix, S.A., of Montevideo, Uruguay, as the shipper. According to a bill of lading—which documents what's in the cargo and where it's going—the cargo was to be received by the Peruvian navy at the port of Callao. It all seemed business as usual; after all, it was not the first time that Peru purchased military goods from the East Germans.

Last June 3, as the *Pia Vesta* transited the Panama Canal, SA-Chartering APS sent a telex to the Peruvian company Universal Maritima, S.A., requesting that the company serve as its agent when the ship arrived in Callao. Universal Maritima, following standard Peruvian procedure, asked Copenhagen Chartering to forward the commercial documents itemizing the ship's contents. But the documents were not to be found. Finally, last June 6, having received no documents, Universal Maritima informed *Pia Vesta's* captain that it would not act as the ship's agent in Peru.

Meanwhile, according to the Peruvian newsmagazine *Caretas*, CIA officials in Lima—apparently unaware of the *Pia Vesta's* mission, alerted the Peruvian government to the approach of a ship bearing what the U.S. intelligence agency took to be contraband arms. Peru's President Alan Garcia, assuming that the arms were destined for his country's "Shining Path" guerrillas, responded by ordering the Peruvian navy to capture the ship.

As the Peruvian navy, with air force assistance, began its search, SA-Chartering of Copenhagen issued an order to the *Pia Vesta* to turn around and head back to Panama. The *Pia Vesta* obeyed, and in the process managed to escape capture.

Garcia then asked the Panamanian government to intercept the *Pia Vesta* and confiscate its cargo. On June 13 Panamanian armed forces commander Gen. Manuel An-

tonio Noriega informed Garcia that the *Pia Vesta* had requested permission to dock in Panama—but at a U.S. naval base, a surprising refuge for a ship thought to be carrying guns to a Marxist group.

The Panamanian military intercepted the *Pia Vesta* on June 14. Maj. Luis Carlos Samudio reported on Panamanian national television five days later that, as their patrol boats approached, *Pia Vesta* crew members were trying to throw boxes into the sea.

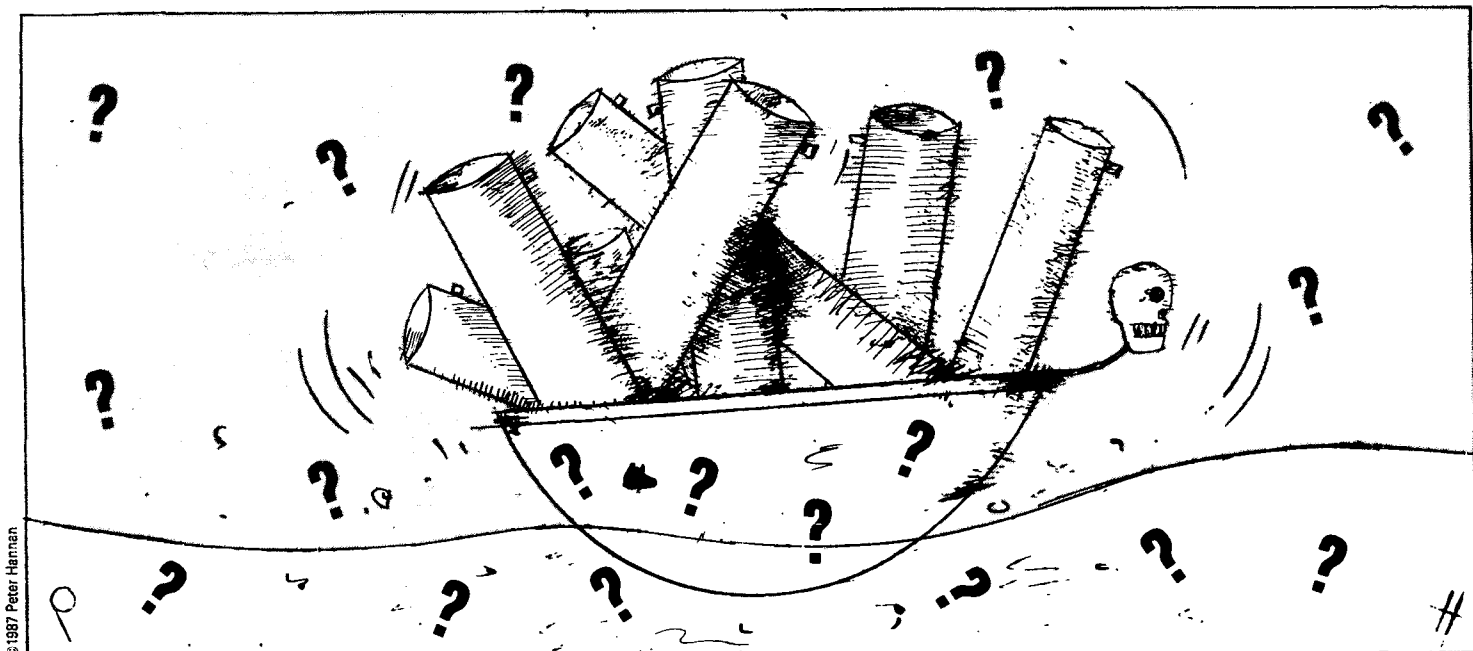
No one claims the cache: The bill of lading turned over to Panamanian officials showed only trucks and spare parts. But the containers once unsealed revealed 1,500 rifles, 1,500 RPG missile launchers, a large amount of ammunition and 32 military vehicles. Interviewed last August 9 on Peruvian television, Gen. Noriega commented that the *Pia Vesta* was equipped with a very sophisticated communications system.

The ship's manifest seized by Panamanian authorities said the cargo was to be delivered to the commander-in-chief of the Sal-

Other aspects of the case raise questions about a U.S. link in supplying the arms.

As the ship was being intercepted, Panamanian authorities arrested a Peruvian, Emilio Ortiz de Zavallos, who they believed was awaiting the cargo at the port of Balboa in Panama. While in custody, Zavallos called a man named David Duncan in Miami. Interviewed by *Caretas* last July 31, Duncan said that his company, General Equipment, headquartered in Miami, handled more than \$3.6 billion worth of arms sales on an annual basis, and that the cargo confiscated from the *Pia Vesta*, for which he assumed full responsibility, was worth \$2.5 million. *Caretas* reported last October 6 that Duncan had done business in the past with Gen. Blandon.

DEADLY CARGO



vadoran armed forces, Gen. Adolfo Blandon, in care of a company called Terminales Chiriqui, S.A., of Panama. The cargo, however, was not identified as military. Gen. Blandon denied knowledge of such a shipment. He was quoted by AFP as saying, "It would be illogical for Russian weapons to be destined for El Salvador." Thus, although the point of origin was known, the destination of the *Pia Vesta* had become anyone's guess. Moreover, no one claimed the goods anymore.

But evidence—albeit much of it circumstantial—points increasingly to the contras as the intended recipients. For instance, among the war materiel found in the ship were Soviet-made, 82-KF rifles. When the U.S.-made C-129 military transport plane carrying Eugene Hasenfus and two less fortunate Americans was shot down over Nicaraguan territory in early October it carried ammunition for just that type of rifle.

Why would the U.S.-backed contras receive Eastern bloc weapons? It's general knowledge in the world of arms trading that anti-government rebels tend to try to match the weaponry of the government forces they are fighting. By using Eastern bloc military equipment, the contras could use materiel captured from the Eastern bloc-supplied Sandinistas.

During a Zavallos telephone conversation with Duncan—which was recorded by the Panamanian military and published in the Panamanian newspaper *La Republica*—the two men were hooked up by phone with Alberto Coppo Gayoso, a Peruvian businessman who had previously worked with a secret police force in Peru. *Caretas* revealed last October 6 that Coppo Gayoso had paid a Peruvian commercial agency, Resa, to issue false documentation showing that the *Pia Vesta* had arrived in Callao and then returned to Panama en route to El Salvador. In the same conversation Duncan suggested a link to Eldon Cummings, a retired U.S. Army colonel who headed the U.S. Military Assistance

An increasing number of Latin American journalists and diplomatic sources believe the arms were headed for the U.S.-backed contra rebels.

Group in El Salvador in 1980. Cummings, at the time of the conversation, worked as an aide to Nestor Sanchez, assistant secretary for defense for inter-American affairs. On January 15 the *New York Times* reported that Sanchez had been implicated in the contra supply network and, as a result, had retired recently.

Last July the Peruvian government, noting that such trafficking in illegal arms might affect its security, launched an investigation and lodged a protest.

In response to a Peruvian request the East German government reported that its own foreign trade company may have been misled by the Swiss company Verwaltungs-und Finanzierungs AG (VUFAG). VUFAG, the East Germans said, had presented itself as representing the commercial interests of the Peruvian government. In fact, *Caretas* reported on August 18 that VUFAG was a front organization for David Duncan.

The Peruvian government, dissatisfied with that response, recalled its ambassador

from East Germany. Meanwhile, Peruvian missions in Panama, Denmark, France, Switzerland and Uruguay had concluded that documents found on the *Pia Vesta* were forged and that none of the companies mentioned in those documents existed.

A report issued by the Peruvian navy in conjunction with the country's foreign ministry also commented on the forging of documents, including a certificate ostensibly issued by the Peruvian naval attaché at the embassy in Washington. The signature of Rear Admiral Julio de los Rios was forged, for example, making it appear erroneously as if he were the naval attaché.

Conflicting stories: In August the Peruvian Senate established a multi-party investigative commission.

A variety of interpretations of the *Pia Vesta* affair have surfaced. Jensen, owner of the Danish shipping company, claimed to know nothing about the case. At any rate, he had other things on his mind, as he, along with two of his captains and two of his shipping brokers, had been charged by Danish authorities with breaking a United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

Salvadoran Vice President and Foreign Minister Rodolfo Castillo Claramount echoed

Continued on page 22

IN THESE TIMES JAN. 28-FEB. 3, 1987 3

By Joel Bleifuss

What's good for GM is good for Mexico

In December, about 700 American businessmen took up the U.S. Commerce Department on its offer and went to Acapulco to learn how to utilize low-paid Mexican workers. (Commerce's sponsorship was later withdrawn, but the invitations had already gone out. See *In These Times*, Nov. 19, 1986). "We project that there will be one million new jobs coming to Mexico from U.S. companies in the next 14 years," one Mexican official told participants at the conference. A lot of those jobs will be in the auto industry. According to the *Detroit Free Press*, General Motors is expected to open 12 new plants in Mexico this year, bringing their plant total in Mexico to 29. General Motors will then be that country's largest U.S. employer. (Rankings two through five go to Zenith, GE, RCA and A.C. Nielson.) This news comes on the heels of GM's November 1986 announcement that it was closing 11 plants and laying off 29,000 workers in the U.S. (see *In These Times*, Nov. 26, 1986).

Hell, why not?

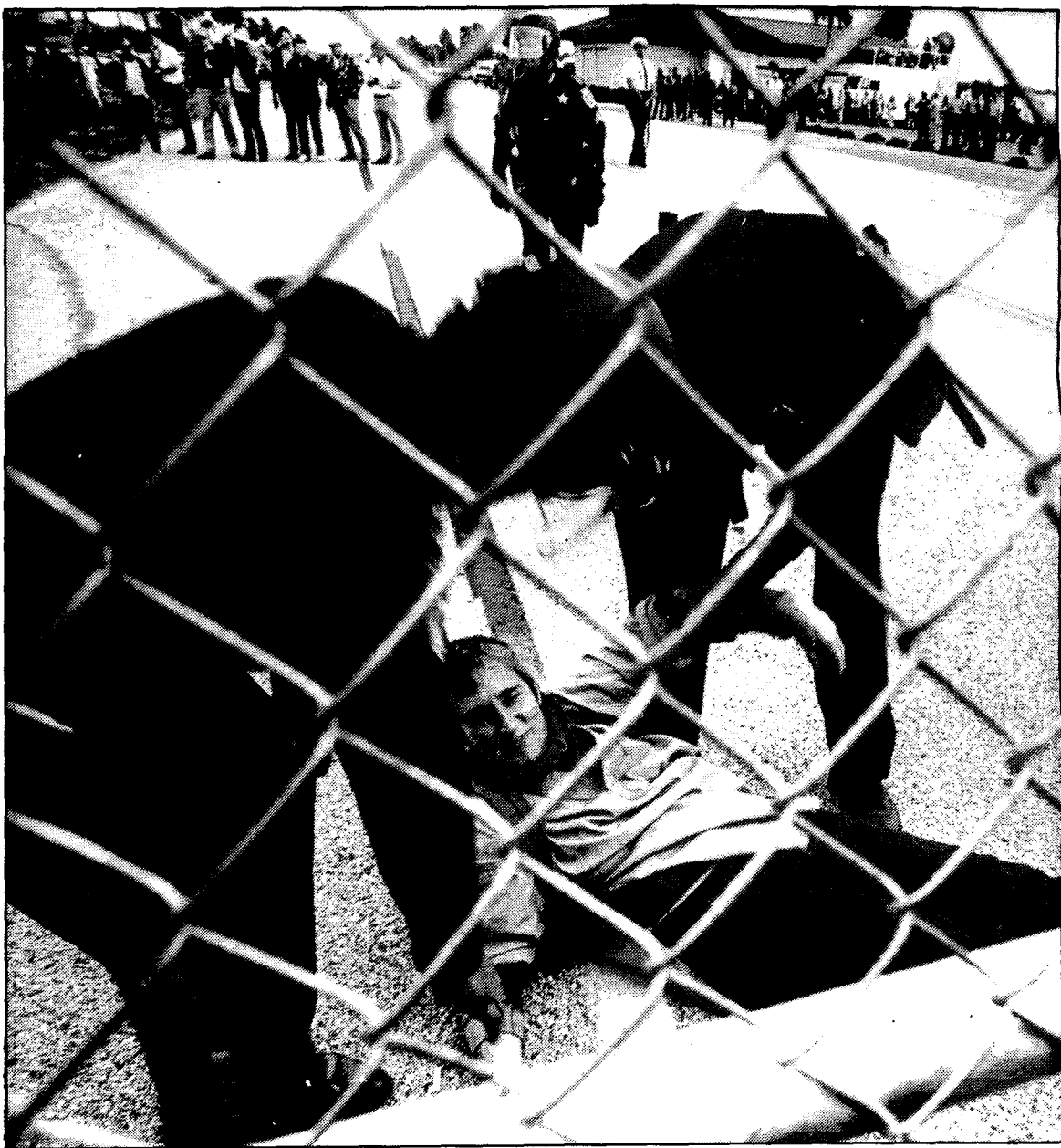
"Shocking" and "totally unacceptable" are the words the Eugene V. Debs Cooperative of Ann Arbor, Mich., uses to describe the "misappropriation of public monies in order to supply arms to Iran and the contras." Consequently, the group, which is named after the father of American socialism, is petitioning Speaker of the House Jim Wright to draft articles of impeachment against President Reagan. Copies of the "Petition to Impeach Ronald Reagan (and George Bush)" are available from the Impeach Ronald Reagan Campaign, 908 East University, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. The petitions are five cents each.

Joggers implicated in kangaroo deaths

The British chapter of Greenpeace has convinced sportswear companies to stop importing shoes made with kangaroo skins. The environmental group threatened to post billboards that read "Adidas and Mitre use the skin of slaughtered kangaroos. Who'd want to be in their shoes?" The accompanying graphic showed an Adidas-clad jogger leaving a footprint trail of splattered blood. In the U.S., Greenpeace is urging a consumer boycott of the one company it knows to be selling kangaroo-skin shoes in the U.S.—Adidas. Nike, Lotto, New Balance, Tacchini, Fila, Caepa, Brooks and, ironically, Kanga Roo are kangaroo skin-free. And through congressional lobbying, Greenpeace is supporting a bill to be introduced this week by Rep. Robert Mrazek (D-NY) that would ban the importation of kangaroo-skin products. The three large Australian kangaroos that are commonly killed for their hide (the red, the eastern grey and the western grey) have been listed in the "threatened" section of the U.S. Endangered Species List since 1974, when the importation of kangaroo products was first banned. In 1981 the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service decided to amend the 1974 ban and allow kangaroo skin products to be imported. The service relied on Australian documentation that a wildlife protection program was in place. However, last year an Australian administrative court ruled that Australia did not have an adequate kangaroo preservation program. The court said that the data the government supplied the U.S. grossly overestimated the size of the roo population and made no distinction between species in those figures. And the court also found that some species of smaller kangaroos are now in danger.

Party with a Commie

The Plutonium Players—the Berkeley, Calif., satire troupe who brought you the "Reagan for Shah" campaign in 1980 and the ongoing movement, "Ladies against Women"—is inviting fun-loving lefties to join in from their own living rooms. The group is seeking "radikal kouch potatoes" to host spoof-viewing parties for the ABC-TV miniseries *Amerika*, about the Soviet Union taking over the U.S. To get the party rolling, the Plutonium Players have come up with a party packet which includes fliers, invitations, press releases, tips on what to parody and *Rocky Horror Picture Show*-style punch lines. "Party-goers will join ABK in chiding a nation so very weakened by liberals, feminists and other wimps that it cannot resist a Soviet invasion," according to the group. For a party packet write, Plutonium Players Amerikon, 1600 Woolsey St., #7, Berkeley, CA 94703, or call (415) 841-6500. A sliding-scale donation of \$5 to \$15 is requested.



David Vira

No sitting on a nuclear fence: Florida's finest arrest one of the 138 people who on January 17 climbed over the fence at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station. The acts of civil disobedience took place during a demonstration of an estimated 6,000 people who had gathered to protest the first flight test of the Trident II D-5 nuclear missile. Among those attending the Mobilization for Survival affair were Dr. Benjamin Spock and Detroit Bishop Thomas Gumbleton. According to Bruce Gagnon of the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, the people arrested based their actions on the "Nuremberg principles signed after World War II that obligate all citizens to refuse to participate in or allow 'crimes against humanity.'"

The revolting right in El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR—Rumors of Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte's resignation in the face of a brewing military coup have proven false. That original report was put out by the guerrilla news agency Salpress and picked up by Associated Press in Mexico City. (The story had Duarte personally handing his resignation to U.S. Ambassador Edwin Corr.)

Under Duarte the army has swelled in size and importance. A military move against him would be akin to killing the goose that lays the golden egg—a \$121 million egg in U.S. military aid.

But while not under attack by the army, Duarte is taking fire from the right who are up in arms over new taxes aimed at making the rich pay \$24 million to support the war. The period of relative harmony between the Christian Democrats and El Salvador's right, traditionally distrustful of Duarte's "socialist" leanings, has ended.

The right has responded aggressively in defense of its pocket-books. They filed a constitutional challenge before the Supreme Court. On January 6, right-wing As-

sembly deputies began a "parliamentary strike" during which they will neither vote nor participate in Assembly debate. The Arena Party unleashed its most skilled orator, ex-presidential candidate Roberto "Death Squad" D'Aubuisson, who went on television Christmas day to lambaste the "loco" Duarte and his "party of the corrupt"—the Christian Democratic Party (PDC).

The most extreme elements on the right, the coffee growers—still brewing over the 1980 nationalization of coffee exporting—have, according to PDC sources, been trying to "buy" army officers to launch a coup.

In addition to defending their economic interests the right is exploiting the tax issue for the December 1988 Assembly elections.

The attacks are of particular concern to the government because its popularity is already low. The economic austerity measures implemented last January to help pay for the war—the currency was devalued and prices rose sharply—encountered widespread labor opposition.

Although the new taxes are different—hitting primarily the rich—the right has been playing up the similarities.

The right-controlled morning papers appear to have convinced many that the "new war taxes" will hurt the average Salvadoran. Labor groups, even those supporting the government, have come out against the taxes. Sixty percent of the economically active population are already under- or unemployed.

Analysts say the government is stuck—it has to have the money to fund the war. While U.S. military aid of \$120 million funds almost half of the estimated \$300 million war bill, El Salvador must pay military salaries and other expenses. "The government is caught between the war and the right," notes one Christian Democrat.

Yet the Christian Democrats appear to have laid a trap for the right. Given the army's support for the war taxes, the right's opposition can now be attacked as unpatriotic.

But the big loser in the increased polarization between the Christian Democrats and the right appears to be the U.S. Embassy, whose patient, double-edged effort to wean the right from their Duarte-as-devil theory and force Duarte to make concessions to the right has hit a snag.

—Chris Norton

Civil rights takes a holiday in Arizona

One by one the tiny school children stepped forward on the large outdoor stage, eager to receive their awards. The voice of an announcer echoed through Tucson's Reid Park. The faces of the youngsters, already flushed by the unusually crisp air, turned bright red as their names were called.

Having just competed in a poster contest honoring the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., their entries were headed for display in a local shopping mall. Although of course too young to recall the specifics of the movement King spearheaded more than two decades ago, they were quite familiar with the slogans. The passion and the fury of the civil rights battle has revived in Arizona.

A state holiday commemorating King has become a political football in Arizona—one that incoming Gov. Evan Mecham recently fumbled. The holiday was first declared—via executive order—by outgoing Gov. Bruce Babbitt after the legislature failed to pass the measure. But Mecham, calling Babbitt's move illegal, vowed to rescind the order upon taking office. On January 12 he fulfilled that pledge.

In so doing, the new governor has opened a bigger can of worms than

he bargained for. The highly charged issue has brought Arizona national attention and Mecham a barrage of criticism. Mecham, Arizona's first Republican governor in 12 years, is very conservative. Some have called him racially motivated, a charge the governor strongly denies. He insists that the question is one of legality, claiming that only the legislature can declare state holidays.

Whatever his motivation, Mecham's stance has spurred dormant civil rights activists, both inside and outside the state. In Tucson, the Urban League has outspokenly criticized Mecham's decision. And many local church leaders have organized letter-writing campaigns and prayer-vigil protests. Proponents of the King holiday have characterized the issue as a litmus test of the Mecham administration's regard for blacks and other minority groups.

The debate has caught the attention of civil rights leaders beyond the Arizona state line. On the day the governor canceled the holiday, Jesse Jackson spoke to an overflow crowd on the University of Arizona campus, "If the world can honor Martin Luther King and the U.S. Congress can honor him with a federal holiday," he said, "then surely the state of Arizona can join the rest of the world."

For his part, Mecham shows no signs of backing down. But he has attempted to distance himself from the fray by calling for a referendum to place the question directly before the voters. That has done little to diffuse the situation. "That's gutless," said Tucson area state Senator Greg Lunn, who plans to introduce two related bills in the upcoming session. But others, such as state Senate President Carl Kunasek, see little hope in the legislature, which voted down the holiday in 1986. "I think the referendum is the only way to get out of this dilemma," Kunasek said.

But perhaps it is most fitting that the people of Arizona decide the issue for themselves. Prior to the national holiday on January 19, a group of approximately 60 King followers gathered at the Mount Calvary Church in Tucson. Joining hands, they participated in an hour-long vigil, praying for Gov. Mecham to reverse his decision and urging him to become more responsive to the needs of all Arizonans. Ray Clarke, president of Tucson's Urban League, summed up the feeling of the group. "Let us have a dream," Clarke said. "One day we shall all sit down at one table...but that table is still under construction."

—Tim Vanderpool

Shopping with a social conscience

What brand of frozen pancakes and waffles are the easiest to swallow for *In These Times* diners? Aunt Jemima's, according to *Rating America's Corporate Conscience*, a new guide produced by the Council on Economic Priorities, a New York City-based public interest group. Quaker Oats (Aunt Jemima's parent company) does not do business in South Africa. Kellogg, maker of Eggo-brand pancakes, does. Quaker Oats is not involved in the conventional weapons industry. IC Industries, maker of Downy Flake-brand pancakes, is—to the jingle of an estimated \$400 million in military

contracts. (IC Industries also puts out Old El Paso Mexican foods.) Quaker Oats has both minorities and women in top management. And, say the book's authors, "Quaker Oats' diverse grants support a wide variety of civic and urban affairs programs oriented toward women, minorities and youth." In fact, the corporation lists one of its primary charitable goals as "Social justice and solution of major public concerns."

In a similar manner, *Rating America's Corporate Conscience* evaluates and compares the social records of 130 other large U.S. consumer product companies.

The book offers these interesting facts: Anheuser-Busch has the most minorities and women on its board

of directors; in 1977 Polaroid ceased sales entirely in South Africa because it was concerned that the government was using its cameras to enforce apartheid regulations; General Mills and Pillsbury are leaders in innovative charitable giving; and in 1983-84, Ogden Corporation gave 85 percent of its PAC contributions to Democrats—an industry high.

The Council on Economic Priorities hopes that by using this book socially aware consumers will buy products from socially conscious companies and thus help align private corporate interests with those of the public. *Rating America's Corporate Conscience* is published by Addison-Wesley.

Head hood speaks

"The Pope is startin' to get too damn liberal for my way of thinking." So said James Ferrands, newly elected Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, when asked if his hatred for lesbians and gay men was related to the Vatican's recent pastoral letter condemning homosexuality. Ferrands is the first Catholic and first Northerner to lead the KKK.

Spermicide firm commits image suicide

Ortho Pharmaceutical—a subsidiary of Johnson and Johnson—has run into trouble once again. In May 1986 a federal district court ordered Ortho to pay Mary Maifer \$4.7 million. Maifer had sued Ortho charging that her use of Ortho-Gynol contraceptive jelly while pregnant caused her daughter Katie to be born with a blind eye, a cleft palate, a deformed right arm and no left arm. Ortho, ruled the judge, knew of the risk of birth defects and should have written a more specific warning on its product. There is nothing unspecific about the company's "Recruiting and Selection Standards." The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is seeking to join a sex-discrimination lawsuit against Ortho filed by a Texas woman who claims to have been wrongly fired for getting pregnant. The company's policy, as stated in a July 1980 letter to divisional managers, is that women have "inferiority complexes" and should not be hired if they have "executive potential" or are "attractive." Some excerpts from the letter: "On Understanding Women—Women are more sensitive than men. They shame easier. They cry more often. Women have more social problems that create business problems. Profile of a Female Worker—She's not 'pretty,' she's not sexy, she should be neat, clean and without frills. She should have the look of someone who might clean her bathroom or kitchen on her hands and knees. She went to a state college, not a private university, and not recently."

Material girls and boys

Students today are more materialistic than at any time in the last 20 years, according to a report put out by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute. The Institute—which has surveyed more than six million college freshmen since 1965—says that 71 percent of 1985 freshmen list "being very well-off financially" as the value they find most important. (Only 44 percent craved big bucks in 1966.) The value showing the greatest decline during this period is "developing a meaningful philosophy of life." That value is seventh on the list, endorsed by 43 percent of the freshmen. (In 1967, "a meaningful philosophy" headed the list with an 80 percent approval rating.) Alexander W. Astin, director of the UCLA institute, says, "It could be argued that the goal of making a lot of money obviates the need for some students to develop a 'meaningful philosophy of life.' Indeed, it may be that some students view making money as a kind of 'philosophy of life' in itself." The report further shows that as power values—like being an authority, having administrative responsibility for others and obtaining recognition—have risen sharply in recent years, large declines have been registered in the altruism department: helping others, promoting racial understanding, cleaning up the environment, participating in community action programs and keeping up with political affairs.

Liberalism's bad name

Though riches may bring a smile to today's students, they have not packed up their ideology in a conservative tote bag. The UCLA study mentioned above reports the percentage of students identifying themselves as conservative has remained in the 15-20 percentile for the last 20 years. On the other hand, the number of self-described liberals has declined by more than two-thirds since the 1970 high of 37 percent. Twenty-two percent of 1985 freshmen identify themselves as liberal. In the same period the number of middle-of-the-roaders jumped from 45 to 57 percent. But despite self-definition, a majority of the nation's materialistic students believe the federal government should pursue traditional liberal goals: 61 percent, for example, support national health insurance; 73 percent believe the rich should be taxed more heavily; 62 percent think the government should do more to protect consumers; 78 percent think likewise for protecting the environment; 73 percent are against increasing defense spending while 66 percent believe the government is not doing enough to promote disarmament and 54 percent think busing is a good way to promote integration—up from 37 percent in 1976.

PANCAKES AND WAFFLES

Size of Charitable Contributions	Women Directors and Officers	Minority Directors and Officers	Social Disclosure	Brand Name	Company (Profile Page)	Involvement in South Africa	Conv. Weapons-Related Contracts	Nuclear Weapons-Related Contracts	Authors' Company of Choice
\$	↑	?	No	Downy Flake	IC Industries (p. 141)	No	↑	No	
\$	↑	↑	ⓧ	Eggo	Kellogg (p. 143)	Yes A	No	No	
\$	↑	↑	ⓧ	Aunt Jemima	Quaker Oats (p. 160)	No	No	No	✓

* = See company profile

? = No information available

Single figure (\$, ↑) = Minimal

Double figure (\$\$, ↑↑, ⓧ, ↑↑) = Moderate

Triple figure (\$\$\$, ↑↑↑, ⓧ, ↑↑↑) = Substantial

No = No involvement or participation
Yes = Involvement or participation. A, B, C in the South African column reflect the degree of compliance with Sullivan Principles and/or involvement in strategic industries.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IF EUROPEAN OFFICIALS VOTED TO SELECT THE most offensively arrogant U.S. official, the winner of the unpopularity contest might be Richard Perle, the Reagan administration's assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. Last month an editorial in the German weekly *Der Spiegel* said that Perle, "in practice the Pentagon's foreign minister," demonstrated "a very special arrogance that is rare even among Reagan people."

Perle had just offended the Bonn government by suggesting to the *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung* that West Germany should cut back on credits to East Germany in order to spend more money on weapons. Bonn pointed out that Perle's remarks were not even based on accurate facts: the government does not grant credits but merely guarantees bank credits. There is no money there to be saved for arms.

The Social Democratic Party's (SPD) floor leader Horst Ehmke said Perle was one of those Reagan advisers whose advocacy of a gigantic arms program was partly responsible for the gigantic U.S. debt. Ehmke suggested that instead of giving the Germans unwanted advice, Perle would do better to think up ways to "save the U.S. from bankruptcy."

Der Spiegel called Perle the "gray eminence" behind Reagan's burial of arms control. Despite his habitual rudeness and sloppy work habits, the weekly said, Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger "pamper him like a wonderchild, almost like a genius" and allow him to get away with anything.

Perle has offended countless Europeans with his contemptuous disregard for their opinions about the arms race, with various statements indicating that the U.S. will use nuclear weapons when and where it sees fit, regardless of what European NATO countries foolishly think they want. The peace movements remember him for dismissing their concerns as just so much neurotic "Protestant angst."

Like him or not, Perle is generally considered the most powerful man in the Pentagon. However obnoxious, his statements tend to define the policy space left to the West Germans—and it is narrow indeed. A glance back at his message to the SPD helps make it clear why party leaders could not want to win this month's elections.

The SPD is torn between loyalty to NATO and alarm at the trend in NATO policy. The original ideas in the fields of foreign policy and defense that SPD specialists like Egon Bahr and Andreas von Bülow have come up with are centered on the desire for a "new phase of detente." But SPD *Ostpolitik* requires U.S. understanding and support, and is simply impossible unless it fits into U.S. policy.

Bad humor: In an address to the SPD's Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn last May, Perle treated SPD policy like a big joke. Perle said he had thought of regaling the Social Democrats with fiction, but had settled for truth instead, "which is more than I can say for" the latest SPD policy statement on peace and security. Jovially, Perle said he had "learned from experience that while conservatives are sounder on policy, Social Democrats have a terrific sense of humor—which

Europe wishes Perle would shut his mouth

is a good thing for any party that is out of power and busy producing a 19-page policy statement that is likely to prolong that unhappy status."

Perle went on to describe the policy paper by SPD Security Policy Commission Chairman Andreas von Bülow as "19 pages of wishful thinking, romantic rhetoric and advice on battlefield tactics that would send a private first class into convulsive laughter—if he were certain he would never be called

DIPLOMACY

upon to implement it." The best he could say for SPD policy statements was that "none of us in office would wish to defend all of the statements made while in opposition."

The SPD looked forward to a worldwide order that would replace national defense systems. Perle took care of that: "If you have the United Nations in mind, you can count us out. But I rather doubt that you have anything in mind. World government is one of those shibboleths that appears from time to time in documents such as these on the theory that those who are for it will appreciate the sentiment and those who know better won't take it seriously."

Perle dismissed as "starry-eyed idealism" the notion that a continuation of detente could lead to peaceful competition between the Eastern and Western political systems. He reiterated the Reagan administration

view that the Soviet Union was engaging in "subversion on a grand scale." Most fundamentally, Perle refused to recognize any merit in the SPD view that each bloc, or each superpower, feels threatened by the military power of the other and that therefore a recognition of the legitimate security needs of both sides must prelude efforts to stop the arms race and move toward disarmament.

"No serious observer of the NATO alliance believes that NATO threatens the security of the Soviet Union," Perle asserted. "I believe it is time we stopped pretending that the Soviets have any plausible basis for professing insecurity at the hands of an alliance whose defensive character is its single most striking characteristic." There is only one side to the story, and the Soviets are to blame for everything, including "flagrant violations" of the ABM Treaty (see story on page 2).

Specific SPD proposals—a freeze on Star Wars, abandoning deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles, a stop to chemical weapons modernization and a nuclear weapons-free zone in Central Europe could, in Perle's view, serve only one purpose: to "harden Soviet positions on arms control."

Grain of truth: However rude, aggressive, unfair and inaccurate, Perle's attacks on the purely declaratory nature of SPD policy statements do not entirely miss the mark. Those statements, compromises between the party's left and right wings, are criticized by both as largely meaningless. Thus Perle's

scorn brings out the impotence of a party of accommodation in a time when dominant powers reject accommodation.

He told the SPD finally that "only the spirit of Anatoly Shcharansky" could lead to the sort of free and equitable society Social Democrats say they want.

This final remark was a provocative reminder that ever since he worked for the late Sen. Henry Jackson, Perle has been involved in scuttling detente policies such as expanded East-West trade in favor of a policy of pressure on the Soviet Union to obtain greater emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. At the Pentagon, Perle has tried to check German technology export while favoring the Israeli arms industry. The Iran arms revelations have shown that in crucial areas such as the Gulf war, the Israeli-U.S. alliance is much more functional and organic than the U.S.' relationship with most of its European NATO allies, and that Israeli policy interests seem to carry more weight.

A member of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), which is dedicated to explaining and strengthening "the link between U.S. national security and Israel's security," Perle has been a key contributor to this organic alliance. Journalist Claudia Wright has reported in the *New Statesman* that Perle himself worked as a consultant for Israeli arms manufacturers in 1980 and 1981. In 1981 Perle appointed JINSA founder Stephen Bryen to a Pentagon job in charge of safeguarding export of U.S. arms and military technology from smuggling and illegal diversion to U.S. enemies.

Defense Secretary Weinberger reorganized the Pentagon's trade control section, creating a new Technology Security Center headed by Perle with broad powers to review export licenses. Perle negotiated a secret agreement attached to the March 1986 U.S.-West German accord on Strategic Defense Initiative contracts which in effect gives the Pentagon—and Perle himself—greater control over West German technology transfer. This is perceived as an attempt to curb the natural development of West German trade with Eastern Europe. At revelations of East German spying in Bonn, Perle rumbles about the security "danger from Germany."

The Star Wars agreement reached with Israel last May is not known to be so restrictive. Moreover, the exceptional free-trade agreement between Israel and the U.S. is an incitement to European companies to participate in joint ventures with Israel to break into the U.S. market.

Throughout Europe Perle is perceived as the most extreme manifestation of the Reagan administration's privileged alliance with Israel, combined with more or less open disdain for European attitudes.

The political effect of this seems to favor the right. In public, political leaders tend to be discreet about such U.S. bullying, but in private it is likely to strengthen tendencies to be tough in defending national interests. Tough, that is, in traditional—and modern—ways that were discredited in post-war Germany by the horrible excesses of Nazism, such as arms development and militarism. One nationalism feeds another. The lesson drawn by Germany's conservative leaders from the example of the Israeli-U.S. partnership is likely to be emulated in some ways—that is, to be less inhibited in pursuing old-fashioned power goals. □



Richard Perle is considered the most powerful man in Reagan's Pentagon.

By Lois Raimondo

THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE GUARDS THE southern approach to the former imperial palace complex in Beijing. Over the past century, the gate has come to symbolize the paradoxical nature of China's violent struggle toward "modernization" and renewal. In recent months, with the outbreak of student protests across China, the gate has once again borne quiet witness to a power struggle between the government and the people.

Since the early rebellions against the Qing dynasty almost a century ago, China has been torn by desire for change. That tension, compounded by pressures from within and from without, have made stability within the country all but impossible. Tiananmen Square, or the Gate of Heavenly Peace, sits at the center of the capital and continues to serve as a platform, not always simultaneously, for the voice of the people and the authority of their leaders. Every year at the end of January hundreds of thousands of people gather in front of the gate to celebrate the New Year with fireworks and government-sponsored speeches.

In the fall of 1984 the government organized a different sort of party in Tiananmen Square in an attempt to deal with the country's "unmarried 30s" problem. Singles who went, by invitation, to Tiananmen were matched up by computer and encouraged to "get to know each other."

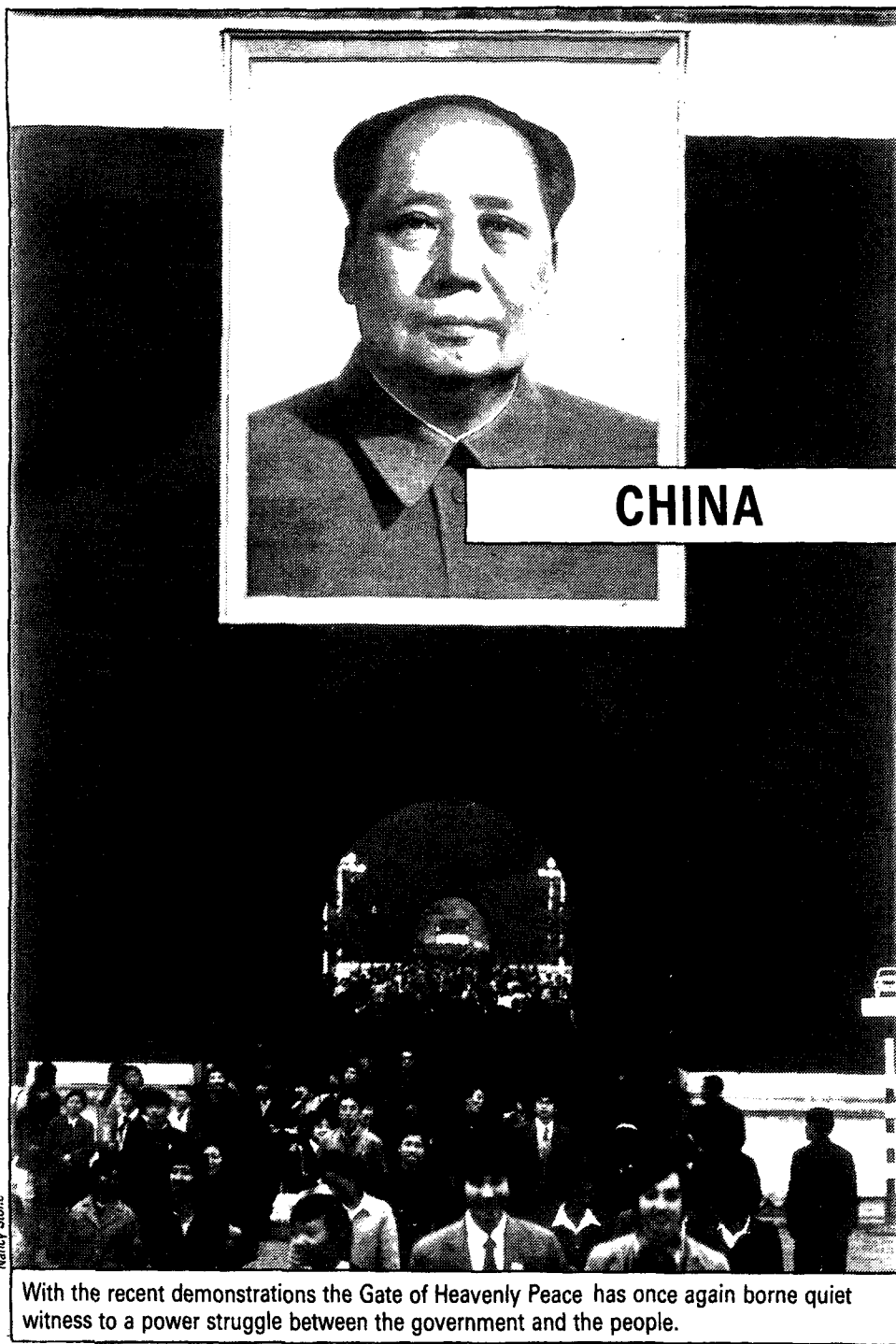
It is true that the Gate of Heavenly Peace has often been viewed as a dream to a better future. But the gate has also stood implacably for the power of the state: "the state," in the words of China scholar Jonathan Spence, "that sought sometimes to prevent such dreams, sometimes to co-opt them, and sometimes wavered uncertainly before their unpredictable force."

North of the gate, the rulers met behind high walls to decide the future of the people; in front of the gate, using it as a marker and a meeting place, political activists, students and workers gathered to protest the ineffectuality of the current regime.

After World War II and the Communist victory of 1949, the Forbidden City area became a museum. And during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 the gate became a reviewing stand in front of which marched the Red Guards, a million or more strong. Then in the late '70s, when the Maoist posters were taken down one by one, a new group of demonstrators gathered in the space between the gate and the mausoleum housing Mao's embalmed corpse to protest the restrictions on thought and movement imposed by Mao's successor governments.

History repeats itself: If one studies the series of revolutions that has wracked China for the past century, a pattern emerges. A single focus does not dominate the dynamic but, instead, an overlapping set of quests becomes clear.

With the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912, new structures for politics and new expression in literature and art were encouraged. At the same time, however, the quest for exploration and advancement aroused passions that divided loyalties and developed divergent power bases. The struggle for power between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Guomindang dominates Chinese history between 1924-49. During that struggle, each of these major political parties grew narrow-minded and the vision gave way to violence as weapons of censorship, harassment, intimidation and death



With the recent demonstrations the Gate of Heavenly Peace has once again borne quiet witness to a power struggle between the government and the people.

The gate of change swings open, but then slams shut

were employed.

Despite the encouragement that leader Deng Xiaoping has given to students and intellectuals in recent years, his most recent public statement announcing a crackdown on student protesters and "liberal-minded" intellectuals shows Deng to be a man of tradition. According to a report released by the Hong Kong-based *South China Morning Post*, Deng Xiaoping met with six senior leaders last December 30 and said, "When necessary, we must deal severely with those who defy orders. We can afford to shed some blood. Just try as much as possible not to kill anyone."

Deng's comments were included in the party Central Committee's No. 1 directive for 1987, which has been widely circulated among party members, other officials and relevant work units throughout China. Circulars from the Central Committee set the party's major agenda items, and this is the first time in five years that the party's No. 1 circular for the year does not deal with agricultural reforms.

According to *Wen Wei Po*, a pro-Peking Hong Kong newspaper, the objective of the 1987 campaign will be to demonstrate the superiority of socialism and reverse the trend to bourgeois liberalism.

With this month's purge of Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan and Wang Ruowang, the Chinese Communist leadership demonstrated its intent to maintain the current directions in party policy.

At the same meeting that Deng demanded protests be stopped, he said, "These few years have been too lax in curbing the tides of bourgeois liberalism. Allowing some rightist influence is essential and correct, but we have gone overboard."

Many students who approved of Deng's economic reforms now face disappointment as he turns against their requests. Deng, himself a victim of the Cultural Revolution, was thought by many to be a "new" leader, not leading or needing the dictatorship apart from the people that many of his predecessors had. Students were hoping for a sympathetic listener in this man who, himself, as both student and teacher was persecuted by an oppressive Chinese leadership (see story on page 8).

will apply force when necessary. In 1957, when Deng was the party's general secretary, he helped lead an anti-rightist campaign in which hundreds of thousands of intellectuals were sent to labor camps or to work in the countryside after they had criticized the government in response to Mao Zedong's call

for "letting a hundred flowers bloom."

For thousands of years Chinese political leaders have exercised various degrees of authoritarian and feudal control over the people. Like the leaders who have gone before him, Deng seems able to put the memory of personal oppression aside and, in his own time, repress the voices who speak to him.

Voices from near and far: Hu Yaobang, a comrade of Deng's for over 30 years, was purged from the party earlier this month and replaced by Premier Zhao Ziyang. Hu and Deng had both taken part in the Long March of 1934-35 when the Communists fled to the remote north of China to escape the Nationalist forces. As party secretary, Hu was a known supporter of Deng's economic reforms and, until his ouster, was believed by many to be Deng's most likely successor.

The dynamics of the recent student demonstrations are part of a persistent pattern evident not only in China, but also in Western reports about the nation.

The protests that opened in Hefei in early December were quickly heralded in the Western press as proof that the Chinese leadership had gone "liberal." Overzealous reports of democratic gains for the Chinese people are, in part, the result of viewing events out of historical context. And they are also the result of weighing heavily the profits made by Western business people, who in recent years have come to enjoy China as a potential marketplace of one billion people.

But recent developments highlight China's historical cycles. The current government is willing to make certain changes for the moment—in this case, economic—but it will not tolerate independent thinking.

The thousands of student protesters who recently took to the streets in China do speak of mass support for change in China. The fact that the recent demonstrations were so widespread is a social barometer of the intense frustration and discontent that so many of China's youth have felt living in China today. Their dedication and commitment to change can be measured in the protest itself—coming at a time when the political pendulum of punishment swings erratically between life and death for any dissenter.

The protests' intensity and organization are a tribute to both the adaptability and the courage of a people struggling to survive in a world that is ideologically speculative and politically tumultuous.

Even after the Chinese government ordered police to use speaker systems and broadcast announcements of arrest, five years imprisonment and sentencing to hard labor for any person caught "instigating the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system with counter-revolutionary slogans and leaflets," thousands of Chinese students chose to continue to demonstrate in Beijing's streets using banners and big-character posters in their protest against centralized power and their push for greater democratic freedoms for the Chinese people.

If the vociferous, six-week-long demonstrations that swept across China have ended quietly, and somewhat predictably, in front of the Gate of Heavenly Peace, then the gate has once again borne witness to the paradox of "change" in China. Because there is a long tradition in China of letting the flowers bloom, if briefly, and then crushing the petals with a heavy hand. □

Lois Raimondo recently returned from a one-year stay in China.

By Barbara Schuler

BOSTON

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO the recent rash of pro-democracy demonstrations reminds many Chinese students studying in the U.S. of a period in their country's history they would prefer to keep behind them. The criticism of leading intellectuals sympathetic to "bourgeois liberalization" sounds to many like a repeat of the hardline rhetoric heard during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, when intellectuals were routinely paraded through the streets in dunce caps, imprisoned or sent to labor camps.

Questions about just how high the crackdown would go were answered by the abrupt ouster earlier this month of the open-minded Hu Yaobang from his post as general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The move shocked many students here who did not think the situation had grown so serious.

Disheartened by Hu's removal and by the recent demotions and expulsions from the party of several of China's most liberal thinkers, Huang Yasheng, a student in Harvard's department of government, says: "I, and many others here, saw these people as the hope of China. Their dismissals mean the future that faces us is not the future we want to see."

Concerned about China's future and their own, more than 1,000 Chinese students at universities across the U.S. endorsed a letter to Communist Party leaders in Beijing.

The letter, delivered last week to the Chinese Consulate in New York, expresses the students' grave dissatisfaction with the forced retirement of Hu and urges Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, and the party's Central Committee to refrain from taking further measures likely to have adverse effects on domestic economic reforms, the open-door trade policy and the reunification of China.

Many of the signatories say that though their efforts may have little impact, they feel the need to express their concern in light of the enormity of recent changes. "A deep sense of mission for the future of our motherland has prompted us to write this letter to openly express our views to the party's Central Committee and the State Council," the letter says.

Signatories in Boston voice admiration and frustration, doubt and fear as they elaborate their views on the December demonstrations and the current crackdown.

One well-known democracy activist who recently arrived from Beijing has been filling in the gaps for his compatriots here who are hungry for the real news of what is happening in China.

The former student leader, who for the purposes of this story will be called Zhang, has given talks at universities across China during the past few months. He contrasts the students now with those he knew during his own college days. "This group of students is different from those in 1980 when some of my classmates disagreed with and criticized my ideas," he says. "This time the support was unanimous. Everyone cheered when I got up to speak. It's clear the students today have a strong ideological bias in favor of democracy."

He describes the students as angry, in a fighting mood and of no mind to give up. But he says government leaders are equally determined to stand their ground, quoting a rumored comment by one Politburo member: "We have four million troops; cer-

Chinese students here get sense of deja vu



CHINA

More than 1,000 Chinese students in the U.S. have endorsed a letter protesting the crackdown on student demonstrations, like this one, at home.

tainly we can take care of one million students."

The first wave: The views of Chinese students in the U.S. about the demonstrations back home are colored by their own political experiences in the past decade. Many working toward graduate degrees are in their late 20s and early 30s and have seen several moves toward democracy snuffed. And their experiences during the Cultural Revolution make them more cynical and more wary of Deng and his reformers than the younger students seem to be.

They saw the protesters pushing the Westward-leaning reformers into a corner and anticipated the Communist conservatives getting the upper hand by blaming the unrest on the reformers' open policies. This, it turns out, is just what happened.

"These demonstrations put the reformers in a Catch-22," says Huang. "The reformers had to restrain themselves for fear of repercussions—they have economic reforms and students abroad to think about. And yet they also had to act, for fear of workers joining the demonstrations, for fear of losing stability."

Many here called the student demonstrators naive, saying they were acting under the false illusion that they could consolidate much wider support among workers and other urban Chinese. While the geographical breadth of the demonstrations was striking, with actions spreading to 13 cities including the traditionally apolitical ports of Tianjin and Shanghai, the cross-class support never materialized.

As Zhou Yuan, a Brandeis University literature student, points out, without this

broader support, the demonstrations were doomed. "This wave of demonstrations was grave enough for the conservatives to grab it as a weapon, but not grave enough for Hu Yaobang to make them *his* political weapon."

Though all of the Chinese students interviewed here support, in principle, their counterparts in China, some criticized their timing. "The demonstrations were the straw that broke the camel's back," says the pragmatic Zhou. "They came at a bad time of stalemated political reforms and struggling between the conservatives and reformers. And they tipped the equilibrium." The discussion of political reforms, begun in earnest last May, had been slowed considerably by the opposition of conservatives during last September's meeting of the Central Committee.

Students here agreed that if the political reforms had been a year or two further along the demonstrations would likely have helped rather than hurt the reformers' cause and their own. Though they fault certain aspects

of the demonstrations, they are quick to defend the protesters in the face of official government criticism. The official press accused the students of spreading chaos that could usher in a second Cultural Revolution. It also accused them of being poisoned by Western bourgeois ideas.

"To compare the students to the Red Guards is ridiculous," says the 39-year-old Zhang, "because it is the crackdown against the students that is a repetition of the Cultural Revolution. Stage a dictatorship over bourgeois ideas, that was a slogan of the Cultural Revolution, not of the students today." He says the term "bourgeois liberalization" has no meaning because it simply means any idea the leaders do not like.

Despite the increasingly gloomy outlook for the demonstrators' cause, they believe it was their responsibility to act. Says Jing Jun, a graduate student in East Asian studies at Harvard and a former reporter for the official English-language paper *China Daily*: "They see themselves as the backbone of political

Says one Chinese student in the U.S. about his counterparts at home: "They see themselves as the backbone of political and economic progress. According to Chinese tradition, the educated ones have responsibility for the fate of the country."

and economic progress. According to Chinese tradition, the educated ones have a responsibility for the fate of the country." **Behind the scenes:** Jing Jun complains that there was not enough emphasis in the Western press on the background to the protests. He points out that though the demonstrations were spontaneous, they were not a bolt out of the blue. The political climate created by the reformers, in particular Hu Yaobang and his ministers of propaganda and of culture, led to very open and frank discussions of China's political structure.

According to Jing, two powerful signals from the leadership were its flexible policy toward artists, which no longer required works submitted in advance of publication or production for censorship, and the opening of academia to Western texts.

He cites the publication over the past five years of more than 20 translations of works by Western philosophers, economists and political theorists, including John Maynard Keynes and John Stuart Mill. "These books were absolutely grabbed up by Chinese youth, who," Jing says, "were just longing to put into their empty brains some concrete knowledge."

More immediate still were a spate of seminars on political reform sponsored last summer and fall by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other leading research institutes in Beijing.

With the Chinese press under Hu's propaganda minister giving these seminars extensive coverage, the students were certainly aware of the ideas being discussed by older intellectuals. Says Jing: "The students would not have acted if they did not feel they had the backing of their professors and other established intellectuals. What they are voicing is what the intellectuals have been thinking and writing about."

In addition to the domestic influences on the students, several international events also likely set the stage, specifically the grass-roots movement that brought Corazon Aquino into power in the Philippines and the quasi-legalization of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan.

A Harvard graduate student and candidate in the 1980 free elections who goes by the pen name Wang Jianmu says the latter struck especially close to home. "The students say, 'If the people of Taiwan can do it, why can't we? We're supposed to be a socialist country; surely we should be more democratic than the [ruling] party in Taiwan, which we call fascist and dictatorial.'"

Though nearly everyone predicted some sort of backlash from the demonstrations, very few students here imagined it would prove so harsh and reach such high levels within the party leadership. First came the removal of Fang Lizhi from his post as vice president of the Hefei College of Science and Technology, where the opening round in the salvo of student demonstrations took place. Fang, a prominent astrophysicist, has made his liberal views on intellectual freedom well known and is widely admired by Chinese students.

One Brandeis student, whom I'll call Liang, explains the demotion of Fang this way: "He's too sharp. He's like a knife and it is too painful for the government. If you use a prod to push people forward, they'll go; but if you use the point of a knife and put it into a person's skin, he has to do battle with you."

Other leading intellectuals, such as investigative journalist Liu Binyan and writer Wang Ruowang, also appear to have been "too sharp." Party criticism of Liu and Wang



for advocating "bourgeois liberalization" followed quickly on the heels of Fang's dismissal.

Shaking news: But the move that took nearly everyone by surprise was the forced resignation of Hu Yaobang. His ouster struck fear in the hearts of students here.

Liang says he has been unable to sleep for several nights thinking about the future and recalling his Cultural Revolution experiences. His wide smile disappears as he talks: "I had a pounding in my heart. I really didn't think that things had gone so far. After Liu Binyan was criticized, I thought, here it will stop. It must stop here."

Though Hu was not universally liked by Chinese intellectuals due to his often rash comments and non-statesmanlike demeanor, they loved what he stood for and what he had accomplished—a relaxation of the intellectual climate unlike anything they had ever experienced.

Harvard student Wang Jianmu, an ardent and outspoken supporter of democratic reform, says he expects more expulsions and demotions in the weeks to come, intensifying the current conflict. "However," he says, "as a result, the focus of the conflict will be changed from one within the Communist Party to one between the Communist Party

and society."

Though the short-term consequences of the demonstrations have proved detrimental to the aims of the protesters, Wang and others predict the pendulum will swing back.

"There will be a backlash against the backlash," he says.

Zhou concurs. "By American standards, this is a major crackdown. By Chinese standards it is just a scratch on the surface. No one's going to hang himself because Hu Yaobang lost his job. If you live in China," Zhou says, "you develop a unique sense of time, a sort of subjective time. You learn to wait."

An open window: It now appears to be the students' turn to wait. Whether the masses prove willing to join the educated elite in their call for greater freedom remains to be seen. Zhou says the conditions in China and the psychology of the people work against this kind of united front.

"The Chinese have always lived under some sort of repression," he says. "Some feel it, some don't. Most take it as a natural ingredient of life. You can't have a good, stable life without some kind of law and order imposed on it."

Zhou appears convinced that the Chinese people don't want democracy as it is understood in the West. "They will rebel against a

corrupt government," he points out. "But that does not mean they want [Western-style] democracy. The choice in China right now is not between democracy and authoritarianism, but between rational and irrational authoritarianism."

The youthful-looking, broad-smiling Liang agrees with Zhou. Liang, who spent three years in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution and maintains ties with his friends there, relates that during the 1980 free election movement, the peasants were baffled by the students' demands. They asked him, "All you students, what do you want? It seems the Communists have given you too much."

The peasants in Liang's adopted village, who were making 10 cents a day when he was there in 1975, today make 10 and 20 times that much. Liang says they are content. "If you want to promote democracy with the peasants, you have to show them that through democracy they can answer their material needs. They do not like great change, they just want to go step by step."

Wang Jianmu believes that just because some in China aren't interested in democratic reforms, that does not make democracy irrelevant to China. He says that plenty of people who claim to speak for the peasants and common people are simply trying to preserve their own political power and vested interests. "It seems to me it is something that is very simple—do you want to be ruled by a bastard or by someone you like? The farmers understand this," Wang says.

Whatever the feelings of the masses today, Chinese students here believe the long-term benefit of the student protests is a rise in the political consciousness of the average citizen. They say that political reforms are essential to China's modernization drive and that the December demonstrations help prepare the soil for the seeds of democracy.

Zhou paraphrases the famous author Lu Xun: "The Chinese mentality is such that unless somebody proposes to get rid of the roof, no one so much as wants to open the window." He says the students right now are making an unrealistic proposal to do away with the roof. "But perhaps," says Zhou, "this will get people to open some windows."

Barbara Schuler, a former *In These Times* editorial assistant, spent last year teaching English in Hunan Province in the south of China.

The student protests: a view from an insider

By Sanyuan Li

Sanyuan Li is a Chinese graduate student at the University of Chicago. He previously worked for three years as a researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. He is part of a group of more than 1,000 among the 15,000 Chinese students now studying at American universities that is protesting the recent crackdown on student demonstrators and intellectuals in China. The following expresses his view of the political process now under way in his country.

WITH CHINA'S RECENT CRACKDOWN on student protesters, a period of reform characterized by a relaxed political atmosphere has ended. It has also upset a delicate social balance vital to the country's future.

The key question of balance has been whether the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) could both govern efficiently and retain the trust of intellectuals. But with the recent crackdown on intellectuals this balance is

being destroyed.

Instead of pursuing efficient control, the party has turned toward total control of society—which it has done repeatedly since 1949.

The charges against students and intellectual leaders denies the rule of law that has been advocated by the authorities. As a result, the Chinese people will conclude that the constitution is taken only symbolically, as in Mao Zedong's reign. The people will now expect inconsistency from their political leaders. They will protect themselves from the withdrawal of the authorities' commitment to reform by hiding their true ideas in a protective shell. This will destroy coherence between the reformers in the party leadership and the people.

Before the ouster of CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang and the crackdown on intellectuals, Deng Xiaoping had been viewed as the architect and leader of reform. Now Hu, who has been seen as Deng's close follower, will be considered the leading reformer.

Power plays: In the short run, Deng's

leadership will remain unchallenged. He will continue to enjoy a decisive role in making fundamental policies for the party and the country. But after further damage to the former leadership group—Deng, Hu and Premier Zhao Ziyang—communist hardliners, or conservatives, will find Deng vulnerable.

Hu's authority as party general secretary was painstakingly established by Deng. He had backed Hu in many reforms that were strongly opposed by conservatives. As part of a three-person leadership, Deng and Hu often endured conservative attacks together. But with the recent crackdown, Deng's popularity among students and intellectuals, who had been Deng's strongest supporters since 1976, is declining.

This will allow conservatives further to reduce Deng's power by modifying some of the major economic measures that had led to demands for political reform. The conservatives' next target will be some of Zhao's economic policies. Finally, they will attack Deng's own programs. One by one, they will

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IN THESE TIMES JAN. 28-FEB. 3, 1987 9

Continued from preceding page

handle the leaders. First Hu, then Zhao and finally Deng.

Zhao's transitory role: Ideology and propaganda have always been extremely important in China. In the CCP, all important power struggles have begun with ideological maneuvering and propaganda. Now, Zhao is taking charge of ideology and propaganda. On the surface, this arrangement maintains the primacy of party reformers. But Zhao has neither the experience nor the personal network needed to fulfill the duties of his new position as general secretary of the CCP. He is a transitory person, put into his new position out of immediate need. Finding someone permanently to assume the position of party secretary will be a great headache for Deng.

Popular speculation on the reasons underlying Hu's ouster are: first, pressure from hardliners on Deng; and, second, Deng's disappointment about Hu's handling of student unrest.

The second explanation seems more plausible. Deng and Hu have different opinions about political reform. Deng wants greater efficiency and less corruption. But he wants to achieve those ends through total control by the CCP. Hu, on the other hand, believes in a more relaxed political environment in which intellectuals' constructive criticisms can reach the party, and thus reduce party corruption and increase morale both among intellectuals and the people in general.

The discrepancy of their understandings of political reform was not clearly noted by intellectuals or the people because of the tripartite leadership. In people's minds, Deng and Hu shared the same notion of "relaxed political environment." Students were impressed by the idea of political reform. They were also impressed by propaganda for the institutionalization of the 1982 constitution. Under the spell of these perceptions, students thought it was time to pursue the rights granted by the constitution. The *People's Daily's* confirmation of the legality of the students' demonstration in early December further encouraged the students.

But the scale of student unrest shocked and enraged Deng and the conservatives. Disagreement between Deng and Hu was aggravated. Deng's ouster of Hu served the following purposes: first, it soothed his rage over Hu's disagreement with him; second, it calmed the agitation of conservatives; and third, it eased his suspicion that Hu was craving for his retirement.

To top leaders, demonstrations are a threat. From the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution to the downfall of the Gang of Four, demonstrations have presaged major changes in the top leadership. Always hysterically sensitive about their own political security, leaders know that unrest among the people can be used by the opposite factions to oust them.

A culture crisis: There has been a general crisis of belief and culture in China since the collapse of Mao's image. Chinese tradi-

tionalism—titled Confucianism—was not restored, and socialism—in terms of Mao's understanding and practice—was also discredited. In the pursuit of economic development, the Chinese people have realized the great gap between China and the West. They attribute this gap to China's lack of a capitalist economic and political system.

But Western philosophy was never systematically introduced and understood by the Chinese people. The part that was not understood was often beautified. Despite these perceptions, the difference in the history of the West and China excludes the possibility of China's total adoption of the Western example. Chinese leaders instead preach what they call "creatively constructing Chinese socialism." But this slogan is not concrete enough for the students. They want to include freedom of press and speech. Those freedoms are only nominally granted by the Chinese constitution. The lack of these less vehement channels for students to express their desires for rights, and a comparatively relaxed political environment led the students to demonstrate.

Chinese intellectuals and the students do not mean to threaten the party leadership. But the Great Cultural Revolution convinced them that total party control will lead to disaster. Instead of depending on the party's leadership completely, they want to think on their own and be able to check the party when necessary. In other words, they want to participate in the management of society.

Further, the practice of constitutional

rights is necessary for the development of the economy. The main barriers to economic reform come from party interference in social and economic spheres and the abuse of power and corruption of middle- and lower-level party leaders.

The power of the paramount leader in China always swells with time. His absolute, patriarchal power results in increased whims and suspicion of usurpation—even by his own heir. At the same time the paramount leader's absolute power reduces his sense of security and his tolerance of different ideas. Mao was affected this way and so is Deng. Deng's ouster of Hu indicates his change of character and a lack of resources in handling and the problems raised in the process of reform.

Looking backward: When there is a lack of resources, it is easiest to go back to the format of the past. The ready-made format for the present crisis of belief is complete party control, similar to that of the Rightist Movement in 1957. Once again intellectuals are deprived of the right to speak out. Paranoid slogans like "complete Westernization" and "bourgeois liberalism" are attached by party mouthpieces to the intellectuals and the students.

But the government's recent actions violate article 35 of China's constitution, which grants people the right of speech and press. It also violates the Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Party, which says: "...with the problems of people's thought, methods of discussion should be used." □

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Long Time Passing: Lives of Older Lesbians



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By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

WHILE MEDIA ANALYSTS DUTIFULLY assess the merits and demerits of the four white candidates seeking to unseat Mayor Harold Washington, most black Chicagoans already are convinced that racism is the mayor's only opponent. And in a city that attracted international attention for the civic rancor displayed during its 1983 mayoral campaign, such a conviction cannot be dismissed as racial paranoia.

Indeed, the candidates themselves have made little attempt to conceal their "great white hope" strategy and they make no secret that their joint intention is to prevent Washington's re-election. Pursuit of that common goal has provoked some frenzied political maneuvering: rumors initially were spread that "high-quality" Democrats like Illinois Rep. Dan Rostenkowski would run. Members of the once-vaunted Democratic machine even threatened to run as Republicans to force the mayor into a one-on-one race, while high-profile Republicans—fearing the "spoiler" label—removed themselves from consideration.

The resulting line-up would be prime satire material were it not true: Cook County Assessor Thomas Hynes and Alderman Edward Vrdolyak, the Cook County Democratic chairman and leader of the city council's opposition bloc, are running as the candidates of newly created political parties. Life-long Democrats both, they are not running in the February 24 primary to allow former Mayor Jane Byrne a shot at Washington head-to-head, and, of course, to better their own chances. Donald Haider, the Republican candidate, is an economics professor at Northwestern University, Byrne's former budget director and a former member of the

BLACK MAYORS

same wing of the Democratic Party that includes Hynes and Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley, the late mayor's son.

If Washington, 64, defeats Byrne—the polls show him at least 15 points ahead—most observers predict Vrdolyak will pull out of the race and Haider will lower his profile considerably. This will leave Hynes, the man analysts contend is the strongest candidate against the incumbent. The use of such elaborate and specifically anti-Washington tactics can be explained only by racism, black leaders argue. "Washington has survived the greatest odds of any big-city mayor in the country," says Rev. Jesse Jackson. "Not only does he have to overcome the legacy of the previous mayor, but never in history has a Democratic mayor had to defend himself from his own party more than the opposition party." Jackson blames racism.

If there were other plausible explanations, black leaders would probably still blame racism; a sense of embattlement is essential to the "movement" nature of Washington's re-election effort. Luckily, the mayor's black supporters have not had to do much to maintain that attitude, thanks to the Vrdolyak bloc



Chicago Mayor Harold Washington faces more than cameras in his bid for re-election. He has four white opponents.

It's yet another race of race for incumbent Washington

in the City Council. Their blind obstructionism and race-oriented opposition, which until recently had stymied many of the mayor's initiatives (the opposition had a 29-21 City Council majority, which has since been altered to a 25-25 standoff with the mayor breaking the tie), kept the black community in a state of continuous agitation and postponed the inevitable conflict between the romance of movement politics and the exigencies of municipal government. What's more, the antics of the Vrdolyakers submerged the divisions among Washington's black supporters.

Black integration: The Washington administration is the embodiment of a true rainbow coalition. Indeed, one reason for the inordinate attention focused on Chicago's political landscape is the national interest in whether a city with such a history of racial discord—Chicago is generally acknowledged to be the country's most segregated large city—could maintain an interracial alliance anchored by black leadership. Harold Washington's reform credentials endear him to the city's left-liberal forces and members of the Democratic organization's reform wing are prominent in his administration.

But Chicago is also home to the strongest black nationalist community in the U.S. Headquartered here are Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam and the National Black United Front, the country's two most prominent nationalist groups. In addition to those two organizations, the city hosts the Kemetic Institute (a nationalist think tank) and the Institute of Positive Education and Third World Press, both of which are headed by writer-educator-publisher Haki Madhubuti.

The Black Independent Political Organization, led by journalist Lu Palmer, an organizer with a long history in black independent politics, is also based in the city, as is Robert Starks' Task Force for Black Empowerment. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, though nominally a "civil rights" organization, takes many positions similar to those of the nationalists.

The mayor also excites these groups. In fact, it was Palmer's urging that pushed Washington into the 1983 campaign. The nationalists' success in mobilizing unprecedented numbers of blacks was one of the major lessons to come out of Washington's campaign. It was a lesson learned well by candidate Jackson, who warmly embraced the nationalists (symbolized by his romance with Farrakhan) in his presidential run a year later.

"One of the things that distinguishes Washington from many other black mayors is his uncompromising stand on black empowerment," says Starks of the Task Force. "He's always out front for our interests and he backs down from no one." Starks, who's deeply involved in the nuts-and-bolts of voter registration and turn-out, says, however, that there's some danger that the black community may have grown too complacent. "There's enthusiasm in the air, but I'll have to admit, it's not the same as it was in '83." He argues that the "real battle in this election will be in the board of election commissioners, where various efforts are underway to purge thousands of black and Hispanic voters from the rolls."

Starks' anxieties are echoed by several of Washington's campaign strategists. In addition to the voter purges they fear the city's

blacks may revert to their tradition of political apathy in the absence of a controversy or a galvanizing issue. Not so, says Lu Palmer. "I feel something is happening in our community, just like I felt it in '82 and '83," he contends. "It's a feeling, a vibration that's hard to quantify, but believe me, it's once again among us." Local pundits have learned to respect Palmer's intuitions.

There was some doubt whether Palmer would play as active a role in this campaign as he did in Washington's previous one; some of Palmer's associates spoke of displeasure with the mayor's policy emphases and of his appointments of whites to several key positions. Many Palmer admirers thought he should have been rewarded with a position of leadership within the administration following his yeoman work for the mayor, and they've been holding this grudge for a while. Whatever hard feelings existed between the two men have apparently been dissipated, as Palmer is once again leading the charge for a Washington victory.

"Lu can see, just as anyone who wants to really look can see, that the mayor is actually using the city government to create programs and divert resources for the good of the people in the communities," says Robert Lucas, executive director of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization. Not only can Washington supporters like Palmer and Lucas see the improvements, but a former Byrne supporter like Ralph Foreman can see them also.

Foreman lives in a black middle-class community called Chatham. He says Washington used to embarrass and anger him with rhetoric of black empowerment. "I used to think he was just 'woofing' to hear his own voice, but I think I understand now where he's coming from," Foreman explains. "He takes a rhetorical stand that's pretty extreme and seemingly set in stone, and he tells people to take it or leave it. The amazing thing is it really works."

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Foreman is an independent contractor who works for a minority firm that received a lucrative contract for work on an extension to O'Hare airport. "I've known several colleagues who've received contracts for big projects," he notes. "That was totally unheard of before the Washington administration."

In April 1985 Washington issued an executive order mandating that 30 percent of city purchases and contracts be made with firms headed by minorities or women. The city's purchasing department estimates that minority firms contracted for a little more than \$74 million since the mayor's order. Such benefits undoubtedly boost Washington's standing among another critical segment of his coalition: black business elites.

Washington, who has served 16 years in the Illinois state legislature and a little more than three years in Congress, has helped stimulate a creative tension between those members of his coalition who seek a new, black machine—replicating the Daley model—and those who seek substantial reform in the way Chicago is governed. Members of both factions are represented in the mayor's

25-member City Council bloc. But as the center of political gravity, the mayor has managed to keep the disagreements within manageable boundaries.

Washington's reign has ushered in an era of good feelings between many segments of the black community previously at odds. For example, many observers have noted that the city's 12 black newspapers—the largest number in any U.S. city—have become more aggressive and assured since Washington's election.

Tangibles: Despite opposition and interference from the determined Vrdolyakers, Washington has done much for the city's black community: as federal funding has withered, he has developed public-private partnerships to finance construction and rehabilitation of thousands of housing units. Also, funding for sheltering the homeless have increased nine-fold during his tenure. The Washington administration has reduced infant mortality and recently instituted an even more aggressive program to aid pregnant teenagers—the major victims of the tragedy—with pre- and post-natal care. The mayor has established five new health promotion centers in Chicago

Housing Authority locations. Black wards unanimously report being better served by city agencies and the infrastructural improvement has been significant. Given the obstacles in his path, perhaps even because of them, there's very little for which Washington deserves criticism. While making steady improvements in the city's neighborhoods, the Washington administration has also presided over the largest period of downtown construction in the city's history. "More than \$14 billion in new revenue has been added to the city tax base," says city Comptroller Ronald Picur.

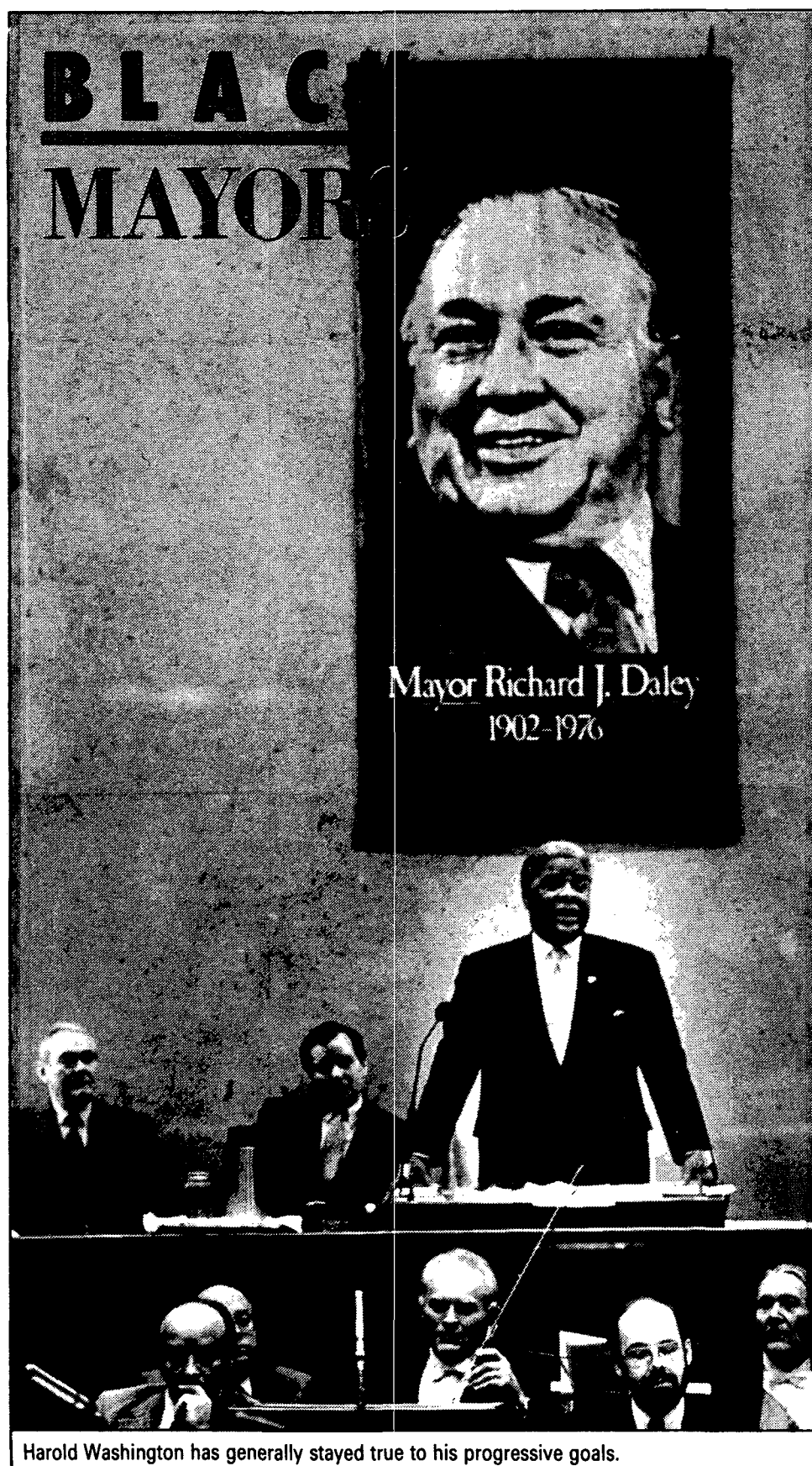
Intangibles: "Mayor Washington is an excellent role model for this city's black youth," says Ora McConner, an assistant superintendent for educational services with the Chicago board of education. "There is definitely a new feeling of pride and accomplishment, as well as a new interest in the working of the political system, since he's been mayor."

Elsie Hudspeth Young is a restaurant owner in the city's South Shore community. She contends that Chicago blacks have changed in subtle but noticeable ways since

Washington's election. "I had to go out of town for a while and come back before I really noticed the change," she explains. "I spent about a month in Florida last year, and when I returned I noticed how confident and assertive blacks here seemed to be compared to other places I've been."

The prospect for Harold Washington's reelection is a subject on the minds of blacks throughout the country. The most recent issue of *Black Scholar* magazine devotes two long articles to the subject, and similar interest is being demonstrated by black publications across the political and cultural spectrum. "Our mayor is nationally recognized as a black man who refuses to 'stay in his place' and accept a status quo of inequality," says Starks. "And at the same time, he's running an administration that's remarkably integrated and accomplished."

Such a man is dangerous to those who fear black leadership and inspiring to those who seek new models for effective political coalitions. In either case, Mayor Harold Washington is a man to watch and, whether he wins or loses, he already has altered Chicago's political topography forever. □



Washington learns that reform comes slowly

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

WHEN HAROLD WASHINGTON RAN FOR mayor four years ago, he attacked a deal cut by then-Mayor Jane Byrne for construction of four high-rise, high-priced apartment buildings just west of downtown. Dubbed Presidential Towers, the buildings rose where cheap residential hotels had once provided housing-of-last-resort for a couple thousand people now displaced into the streets and shelters. Byrne's package of cheap land, tax-exempt bonds and other breaks cost the public more than \$100 million, a team of public-interest researchers calculated. In return, the city got nothing—except subsidized luxury housing.

Recently Washington's administration announced that the city was issuing a city bond to refinance and expand Presidential Towers, but there is a twist. In response to community agitation, the city negotiated as part of the deal establishment of a Low-Income Housing Trust Fund that will receive up to \$17 million, including some portion of profit when the project starts making money. The developer has also pledged to help create single-room occupancy housing elsewhere.

This new exercise in "linked development" reflects the change Mayor Washington has wrought—and its limits. Elected as a self-proclaimed reformer against the weakened but tenacious Democratic machine in a tumultuous contest in 1983, Washington inherited a city government mired in a decades-long history of corruption, patronage, inefficiency and selfish deal-making at the expense of the neighborhoods, the traditional manufacturing base and, especially, blacks, Hispanics and the poor.

Unlike Byrne, who ran against the machine in 1979 and then turned around to embrace it with a vengeance after her victory, Washington has generally stayed true to his proclaimed goals. As a result he has had to fight with only a veto to sustain him for most of

his term against a hostile city council majority.

Tying his hands: Washington's ability to act was hampered in other ways: President Reagan was slashing federal funds to cities; much of the inherited bureaucracy was hostile or, at best, indifferent to his goals; many of his own city council and political allies were oriented toward winning spoils or pursuing a narrowly black agenda and did not share Washington's left-liberal politics; and both the city budget and parts of the local economy were in precarious shape, even if far from being urban basket-cases.

Despite his plans to chart a new course of "balanced growth" instead of devotion solely to downtown real estate along with the service and financial industries, Washington has been under great pressure to reach accommodation with the local business power brokers. Many of them are sympathetic to his aims of making city government more efficient, honest and fair, even if they are not enthused about his agenda on the poor's behalf. So the administration has been balancing worries about maintaining a "business climate" that does not offend the city burghers while trying to respond to pressure from communities and the organized advocacy groups that largely support him.

For example, Washington inherited a bad deal on Presidential Towers from Byrne, his opponent in the upcoming February 24 primary: the city was committed in advance to the expansion and the land was priced below cost. But the Presidential Towers project had been under assault from housing groups. The administration benefited from the controversy and negotiated the deal that will provide funds for low- and moderate-income housing (partly by raising the land price). The protesting community groups were brought into the negotiations in the final weeks. But the victory was semisweet. Privately the community groups felt that the city could and should have gotten more money and firmer commitments for low-in-

come housing, since the groups calculated that the developers were saving \$60 million or more compared to private financing. City officials felt they couldn't get more without jeopardizing the deal.

Despite its reform trajectory, the administration has often fallen short of what was needed—or even possible—because of external obstacles and its own limitations. But judged in the context of recent Chicago politics, Washington shines like a beacon through a fog of mediocrity, mendacity and malevolence. And stacked up against other big-city mayors, his record is quite respectable.

Three goals: Washington often says he is pursuing three types of reform—structural, social and developmental.

Structural reform refers largely to classic good government objectives, the kind of unflashy, mechanical changes that are prerequisite to more substantial tasks. Chicago government used to be a secretive, closed shop. But Washington initiated a freedom of information policy, issued an ethics order, reformed the budget process, opened deliberations on policy to public hearings and discussion by concerned groups, expanded competitive bidding, reorganized administrative responsibilities and facilitated unionization of city clerical employees.

"We were running in an auto race in the '80s with a '50s car," administrative assistant Kari Moe says. Washington has made big steps toward modernization, as well as simple efficiency and equity. With new garbage carts, traditional four-person crews have been reduced to three. Overall, more than 8,000—or nearly 20 percent—have been cut from a patronage-bloated payroll.

Washington got into trouble for hiring as a top aide a man with some minor vice convictions in his past, then was enveloped in controversy over an FBI mole who, acting on behalf of a collection agency seeking a contract, loaned or gave money to an administration official and various politicians, including Washington allies. But the U.S. attorney on the case has exonerated Washington of wrongdoing. Under Washington, says political scientist and former independent alderman Dick Simpson, "there is more open and honest government than Chicago has ever seen before by a long shot."

Washington has also made substantial headway toward social reform, or fairness and equity. Blacks have been hired in top positions in unprecedented numbers—up 500 percent from Byrne. The administration's top ranks are also heavy with women, and a much-increased yet still small Hispanic presence. Washington has insisted on affirmative action in hiring, contracts and city-aided development projects. More funds have been aimed selectively at poor neighborhoods, especially the declining federal community development money improperly spent in wealthy neighborhoods in the past.

But despite the effort to redress a long history of exclusion of blacks, Hispanics and women, the administration has maintained services equally throughout the city. Washington won council approval of a \$169-million bond issue for desperately-needed repair and replacement of streets, sidewalks, sewers and bridges and other infrastructure by parceling out dollars evenly.

Equally important, the administration has greatly increased purchases from small businesses in the city and now requires that employers receiving city assistance give first consideration to job trainees from Chicago. Currently the administration is conducting

an "education summit" with the school board and business representatives to reach an agreement to link school improvements to business commitments to hire Chicago high school graduates.

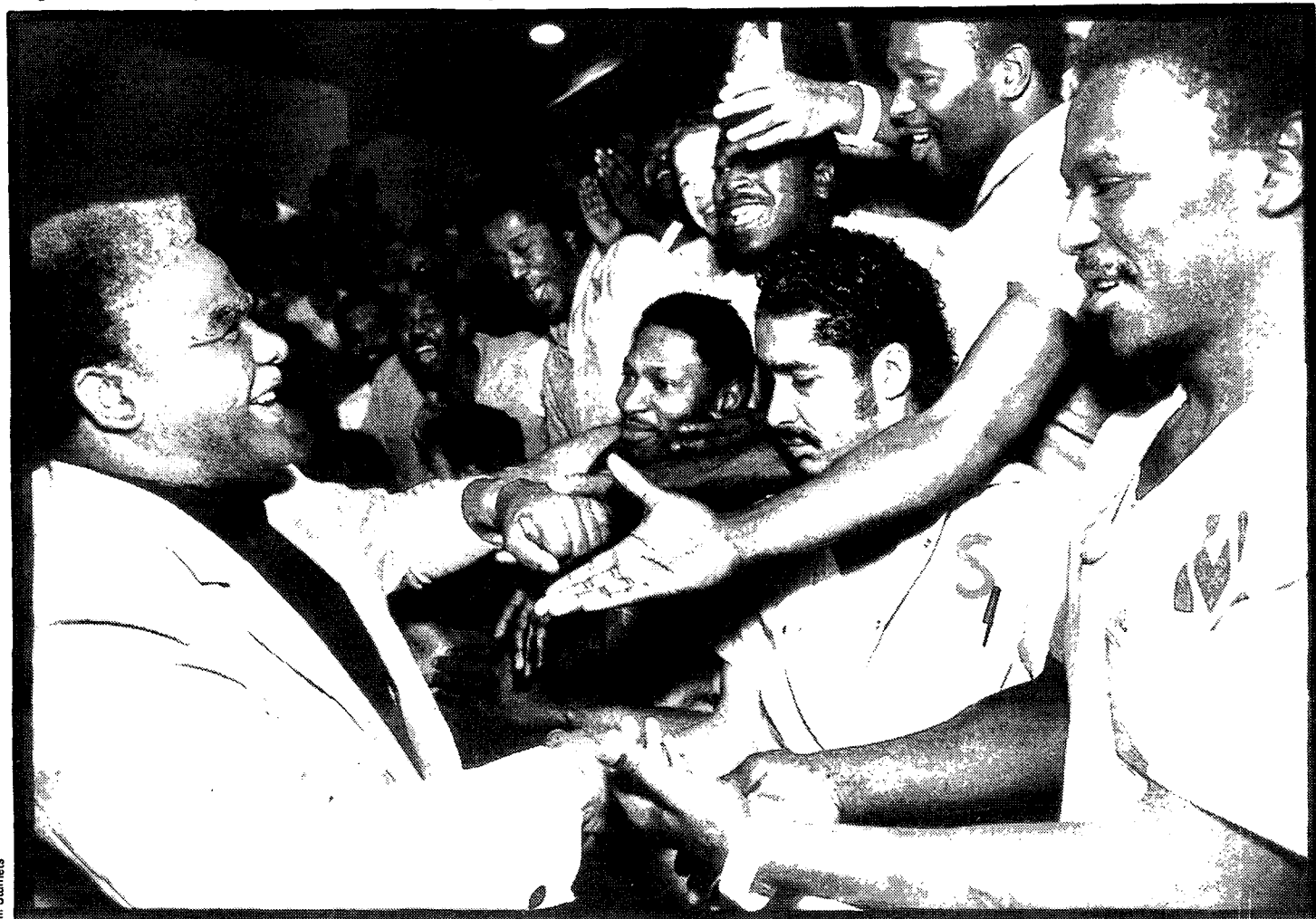
Good neighborhood policy: Chicago has a harsh history of radical segregation and embittered race relations. In 1983 the pent-up black resentment at mistreatment and exclusion exploded in registration and voting for Washington, but the backlash was brutal and angered many blacks, including Washington. Although he deliberately eschewed any grand gesture of reconciliation, Washington worked in quiet ways from the moment of his election to reach out to white neighborhoods. Beyond maintaining ser-

ment groups, community organizations, industrial and commercial councils, housing groups and others increasingly act not just as "squeaky wheel" protesters in the tradition of Saul Alinsky. Now these groups are "brokers, packagers, developers and management offices as well," Capraro says.

This is all part of Washington's third reform area, somewhat vaguely called "developmental reform." Non-profit, public interest and community groups not only have received a massive increase in city funding, especially considering budget constraints, but they also have been a source of ideas such as a Housing Abandonment Prevention Program and a Plant Closing Early Warning Network. And they have become formulators and adminis-

trators of public projects, acting as adjuncts and extensions of government while retaining critical independence. For example, both the housing and plant closing projects rely on community groups to detect possible problems early and intervene to save jobs and apartment buildings.

Washington can legitimately claim great progress in opening up city government and making it more efficient and responsive, in making city operations more fair, in empowering the disenfranchised and in beginning to steer a new course for the city's economy—while picking up garbage at least as well as in the past. Yet some of his appoint-



Harold Washington's support among blacks is broad-based. Above, he greets admiring inmates at a Cook County jail.

vices, his emphasis on restoring economic vitality in the neighborhoods—from small manufacturers to commercial shopping strips—strikes a responsive chord throughout the city.

James Capraro, executive director of the Greater Southwest Development Corporation, applauds the Washington administration's swift action—after Byrne's many roadblocks—to put together land for construction of a new grocery-drug supermarket that helped to retain a nearby Sears retail store and stimulate new small retail businesses in a critical boundary region between black and white neighborhoods. "The impact is phenomenal," Capraro says. "It has a stabilizing effect on the residential community as well."

But most important, Capraro says, the administration has a new awareness of the urban economy and a new attitude about how to work with community groups. It recognizes, he argues, that "Chicago consists of many microeconomies, some of which work well and some of which don't work at all." Although the city has pulled together a few big deals in the classic style of monument-building, Washington and his economic policy appointees have emphasized a diverse range of often small loans, grants or other assistance to retain existing jobs and build on strengths that exist.

Also, neighborhood non-profit develop-

ment. "It's a kind of joint strategizing on issues in which somehow the strengths of local neighborhood organizations are complementary to the strengths of the city."

Washington has not moved to neighborhood government or community control of schools as many supporters want, yet his developing policies represent an alternative not only to an inherited, unresponsive bureaucracy but also to the conservative nostrum of privatization.

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stadium to keep the White Sox in Chicago. The temptation for showy pre-election results, however, led to a stumble: a proposal for a new lakefront stadium for the Chicago Bears ran into justifiable flak from many of his supporters as an improper use of too much city money in the wrong location, decided with too little discussion. Now it's on hold for more review.

There will be people who will try to jockey us into talking about the big picture," he told a group of top city officials last summer. "How many Taj Mahals did you build? Is there a Disneyland in the offing? I don't think we should be pulled into that. Our basic and fundamental job is to serve people and give people the services they pay taxes for...."

But Washington goes beyond the efficient liberal reformer and represents a brand of urban populism. "What [our second term] must include first of all is self-determination," he told the cabinet group. "People should have a bigger role to play in the institutions of their government.... You've got to move people by inspiring them and by fairness. People say that's all starry-eyed and idealistic. Well, that's how we got here. That's how we'll stay here."

CHICAGO

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EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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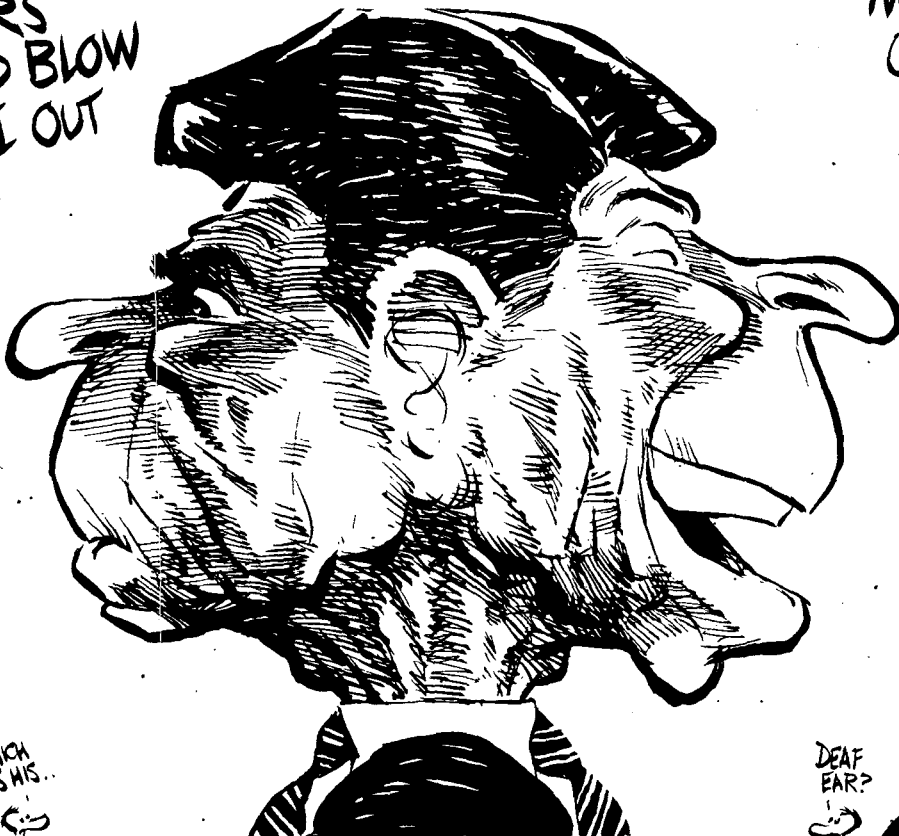
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I'M GONNA BUILD THE STARWARS SYSTEM AND BLOW YOUR SALT II OUT OF THE SKY!

WELL... YOU KNOW ME - JUST AN OLD SUCKER FOR PEACE!

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 CHAPMAN



DEAF EAR?



Politics is stronger than guns

Since the Reagan administration proposed its 1988 budget on January 5, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has been campaigning vigorously for the immediate implementation of Star Wars, and for large increases in spending on nuclear weapons. In seeking \$312 billion for fiscal 1988—a 3 percent increase in real dollars over 1987—Weinberger would cut outlays for conventional warfare in order to gain rapid escalation of U.S. nuclear capability.

Weinberger's budget would increase Star Wars spending from \$3.2 billion in 1987 to \$5.2 billion in 1988 and \$6.3 billion in 1989. In addition, the Pentagon has asked for \$500 million more than Congress allocated in 1987. And beyond that, hundreds of millions of dollars more are being spent on the program each year by the Energy Department.

In calling for these increases, Weinberger has been arguing that the Soviet Union is ahead of the United States in nuclear capacity and in conventional forces, and that it is necessary to achieve clear superiority in order to force the Soviets to agree to cuts. His rhetoric is replete with warnings of the dangers of Soviet aggression, implying both a Soviet will and a capacity for expansion.

Democratic opponents in the Senate and the House seem determined to defeat proposals to speed the deployment of Star Wars components and the increases in defense spending. But, as expected, they are doing so on the most pragmatic of grounds. Senators William Proxmire (D-WI) and Bennett Johnston (D-LA), both members of the Senate appropriations subcommittee on defense, have mostly financial objections. They say Defense Department proposals are "premature" and too costly, that the weapons involved are not yet fully developed, that they can be countered relatively cheaply and that deploying them would sabotage arms control talks.

In the House, Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-FL) holds similar views. In a letter to colleagues, Bennett, a candidate for chairman of the Armed Services Committee, recommended freezing the Star Wars budget at \$3.1 billion, about 12 percent below the 1987 figure. His views appear to be shared by the three other candidates for chairman of his committee.

Unquestioned assumptions: Assuming that these Democratic legislators' views prevail, the administration will fail in its attempt to increase Star Wars spending and military spending in general. We will then be spending a mere \$300 billion or so for weapons of destruction on the theory that we face a military threat from the Soviet Union, either globally or on the ground in Europe. In short, President Reagan's Cold War policies will remain unchallenged, their underlying political premise and their view of the world unquestioned. What little debate there is will be superficial, even on the part of those in Congress who really do not believe the Cold War rhetoric.

In short, there is no evidence of a public challenge to the basic

militarization of American society in the political mainstream, or to its ideological underpinning, the myth of Soviet aggression. And there won't be such a challenge until the ideological cover for the military Keynesianism that has increasingly dominated public policy in the United States is publicly debated.

Our view has been stated before: there is no Soviet threat, either to the United States or to Western Europe. We believe this not because we see inherent virtue on the part of Soviet leaders, but because of world political realities. Even if the Soviet Union has the military capacity to succeed in war—a most dubious assumption—it has no incentive to make the attempt and would lose everything if it tried. In its most general form, the reason for this is an historically basic change in the nature of power in the modern world.

As Leon Wofsy puts it in *Before the Point of No Return*, "A huge contradiction has become evident in today's world: there is a remarkable gap between military power and its effective expression as political power. While military might now exceeds anything it was possible even to conceive of not long ago, there are also unprecedented barriers to the use of that force."

In this hemisphere, Wofsy's observation is strikingly confirmed by the Reagan administration's inability to overthrow the Sandinista regime, something that would have taken weeks—or only days—a mere 30 years ago. If the United States can now be successfully resisted by a poor, tiny nation in its own backyard, think how much more difficult it would be for the Soviet Union to subdue the developed nations of Europe.

Barely holding on: The fact is that Soviet power is tenuous in all of Eastern Europe; after 40-odd years of military domination and control, Soviet power is barely holding on in Poland and is despised in most other Eastern European nations. A move into Western Europe would set off immediate insurrection in the East, making the relative military strength of Soviet and Western European forces irrelevant. Also the fact is that, like the United States in Vietnam, the Soviet Union is unable to win in Afghanistan and is now seeking a way to cut its losses and get out. At home, the political need is for a loosening up and a revitalization of the Soviet economy, neither of which would be possible under wartime conditions, even without nuclear destruction.

The world has changed fundamentally in the decades since the end of World War II, and the most fundamental change has been political, not military. The growth of modern means of communication and their almost universal availability has created a worldwide desire for genuine democracy and self-determination. That is what keeps Reagan from winning in Nicaragua, and it is what would make a successful Soviet invasion of Europe impossible and a first nuclear strike against the United States unthinkable.

LETTERS

Smell the plutonium

I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD SEE IN THESE TIMES rise to the defense of the nuclear priesthood. The nuclear freeze movement was supposed to make the disarmament movement "credible" in the conservative '80s, but as a halfhearted stance it has been nicely deflected. This was well illustrated by John Judis' pronouncement that "there is some question whether the world would be better off now without nuclear weapons" (ITT, Dec. 24, 1986). Judis has embraced the central hokum of M.A.D. [mutually assured destruction] and declared that we cannot avoid war "without the threat of total annihilation."

John! Wake up and smell the plutonium! Even as we chat, the pork is being ladled out of the barrels, with new SDI and MX contracts. We were naive to think we could "freeze" the nuclear weapons industry, which is predicated on perpetual growth. Even as many already believe nuclear warfare is inevitable, we introduce new generations of hair-trigger and space-based ordnance. In an era when we already face "total annihilation" from the industrial rape of the planet we are making ever more certain the prospect of the ultimate environmental catastrophe. This risk, we are told, is necessary to avoid a "conventional" war in Europe, a war which most Europeans don't believe will ever happen.

Nuclear weapons provide "security" only to the profiteers who make them and play with them. Historically, the nuclear war toy makers are entering a vulnerable period. They are in danger of being reduced to just another lobby on Capital Hill, but they won't go down without a fight, even in the face of enormous public opinion for disarmament. I only hope we have the guts to pin them when they're down. And while we're at it, I hope we can defrock the "civilian" priests of nuclear power.

Jon Kovash
Snowmass, Colo.

Deterrence: RIP

JOHN JUDIS' REPLY TO MY LETTER (ITT, DEC. 24, 1986) makes two points: (1) the superiority of Soviet conventional forces is "debatable" and (2) deterrence has kept us out of World War III. "[T]here is some question whether the world would be better off without nuclear weapons."

Let's start with the issue of Soviet conventional forces. Readers may be familiar with *Protest and Survive*, a collection edited by E.P. Thompson in 1980. While Thompson, using data from the Stockholm International Peace Institute, debunks the arithmetic behind NATO's estimates of theater nuclear weapons, Dan Smith takes on the cooked figures alleging the weakness of NATO's non-nuclear forces. Smith contends: "First, as far as it can be quantified there is a rough balance of forces in Europe; neither side has an important advantage overall. Second, these forces, even without nuclear weapons, would be immensely destructive of each other and everything around them if war comes."

Six years later, Tom Gervasi's *The Myth of Soviet Military Superiority* uses its massive documentation to come up with identical results. After comparing NATO and Warsaw Pact ground forces, tanks and aircraft,

Gervasi states: "With little exception, then, the Reagan administration's claims—and NATO's claims—of Warsaw Pact superiority are false."

It was bad enough dismissing Gorbachev's concessions as "ploys," but celebrating deterrence after its transubstantiation into Star Wars is too much. Deterrence died years ago with the introduction of cruise missiles and Pershing IIs, both weapons of "limited" nuclear war. Just to make certain, a stake was later driven through its heart with the MX, the B-1 and Stealth bomber, the D-5: all the inventory of first strike and protracted nuclear war. Furthermore, 30 years ago only 200 of today's 50,000 nuclear weapons was more than enough for deterrence. Now, we have just blown what could turn out to be our last chance for a comprehensive disarmament agreement—complete with test ban and on-site verification—all because the Soviets were not crazy enough to give away offensive weapons while the Pentagon gained military control of space, and Judis is warning us about the terminal danger of total disarmament.

Darwin Aronoff
Los Angeles

Amherst and Abbie

YOUR ARTICLE ON ABBIE HOFFMAN (ITT, JAN. 14) focused on his presence during the November 24, 1986, occupation of the UMass Office of Public Information, Munson Hall. I do not believe it did our movement justice.

The article implies that we were unprepared and did not carefully organize our demonstration. But the occupation of Munson Hall, the fifth major building occupation at UMass in the last two years and one of the most successful and militant in its history, was carefully planned and thought out.

To say that we didn't have lawyers recruited or civil disobedience training is absurd. We did not fully explain to Abbie or David Corn exactly what the plans were for the demonstration, not because we didn't know what those plans were, but to keep our plans as secret as possible. This decision was borne out the next day when we found the administration building locked and filled with police. What looked like a spontaneous decision to occupy Munson Hall next door was a strategic plan that left the university administration dumbfounded.

It is exciting being at the forefront of the latest chapter of the growing student movement of the '80s. We are a movement based on both the personal and the political revolution. Our means are as political as our ends. We work with consensus in almost everything. This sometimes is not task effi-

cient, but it reflects the vision of the world we're striving to create. The unity that comes out of this process is often more powerful than the direct action we take.

I greatly appreciate Abbie Hoffman's presence at UMass. We would never have received the media attention we got without him—and this coverage has helped build our upcoming jury trials from a local focus to an international event.

Tentatively scheduled for April, our trials will include not only Abbie, but also Amy Carter and attorneys Len Weinglass and Lee Goldstein. Through these trials we are uniting generations in opposition to the CIA and the administration's foreign policy. Our "necessity defense" will expose the atrocities of the CIA through expert testimony of people like the foreign minister of Nicaragua, the Angolan ambassador to the U.S., Eugene Hasenfus and John Stockwell. If you'd like to join us in putting the CIA on trial, send contributions to: CIA On Trial Project, P.O. Box 43, Amherst, MA 01004, (413) 545-0677.

Marc Kenen
Amherst, Mass.

Klan 1, Protesters 0

I'M NO FAN OF MARION BARRY. BOTH MY PARENTS worked government service jobs for years in Washington, D.C., and, as they say, "the stories they could tell..."

However, in response to a letter by April Dela Mora (ITT, Dec. 10, 1986) some things need clearing up.

Yes, Barry gave permission for the Ku Klux Klan to march, but only 25 (a generous guess) klansmen showed up, even fewer choosing to don their robes and hoods. After a short while they were dispersed by police (I don't remember them marching far) and whisked away in police vehicles.

A large crowd of angry people was left with no visible target and many, primarily young black men, lapsed into rioting and smash-and-grab raids on local stores. It was not a full-blown riot, but instead of the evening news showing footage of 25 embarrassed and very alone looking Klansmen, the whole nation was beamed images of young blacks looting radios from shop windows.

Klan 1, Protesters 0.

Alan Spears
Washington, D.C.

Justifying AT&T

DAVID M. KOTZ' COLUMN "FREE MARKET CREATES inequality of wealth" (ITT, Nov. 26, 1986) illustrates the point that if something is repeated often enough it becomes ac-

cepted as true. Kotz says, "AT&T formerly subsidized local phone rates at the expense of long distance rates..."

This subsidy is a long-standing claim by AT&T, emphasized recently by the Federal Communications Commission to justify raising rates for local service. But it has never been demonstrated to be true. ITT's editing should catch statements the function of which is to justify income redistribution from poor to rich. What's happening in the telephone industry is price increases for residential and small business to subsidize long distance and the investment in new technology (digital switching and fiber optics) for the corporate market.

By the way, was the title inverted on this piece? It seems more to the point that inequality of wealth creates the myth of the free market, just as AT&T and apologetic economics has created the myth of the subsidy of local phone service.

Gene Coyle
Sebastopol, Calif.

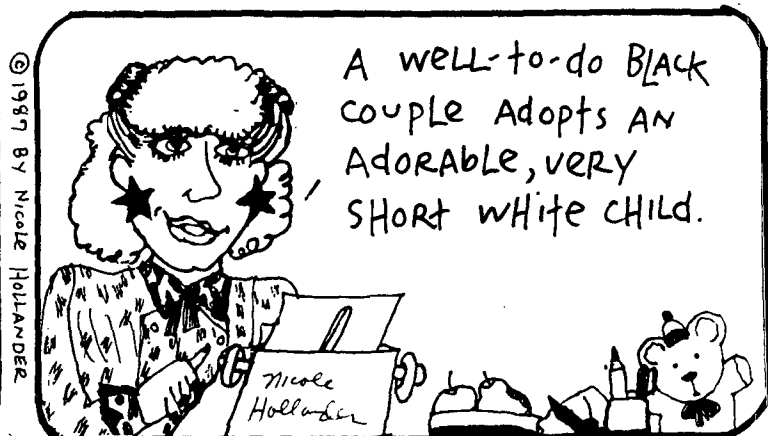
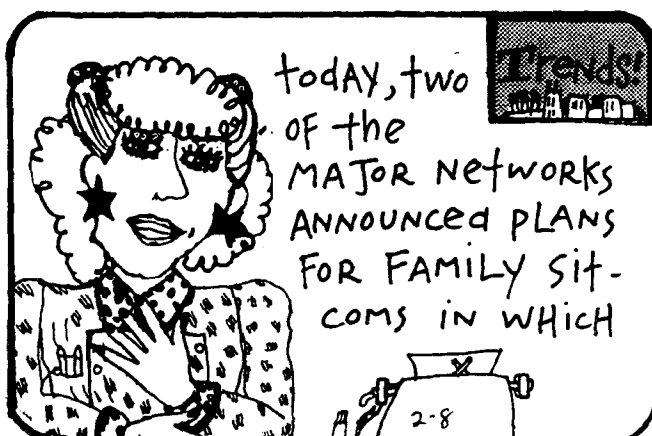
David Kotz replies: Gene Coyle criticizes my claim that AT&T subsidized local phone rates at the expense of long distance rates under the old regime of regulation. The use of the term subsidy was, perhaps, unfortunate, but the point I was making is still valid. Long distance telephone communication requires both long distance lines and a local network. There is no objective way to allocate the costs of the whole system between long distance and local customers, and thus no way to determine who is subsidizing whom. But the record clearly shows that since deregulation local phone rates have risen while long distance rates have declined. Under regulation the official policy was to make it inexpensive to have local telephone service. Since deregulation competition in the deregulated long distance segment has shifted the cost of maintaining the entire system more onto the backs of local callers, who are generally poorer than long distance callers.

Correction

Photographs of Jesse Jackson, George Bush and Gary Hart in last week's edition were not credited. Jackson's photo was by Lionel Delvingne, Bush's and Hart's by Steve Kagan.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



By Peter Downs
& Richard Spencer

Populists, Rainbowers hope for a left coalition

AS REPUBLICANS STRUGGLE TO regain face after the November elections and the White House's foreign policy blunders, Democrats have begun readying themselves for a power struggle within their own party. Calling the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) the "Democrats of the Leisure Class," the Rainbow Coalition's November newsletter issued the call to arms: "We must challenge the Democratic Party's decision to imitate Reagan rather than oppose him." Since the Mondale defeat in 1984, conservative Democrats under the auspices of the DLC have gradually pushed the party toward the conservative center. The coming battle has become more apparent with the Democratic National Committee's release of "New Choices in a Changing America," a policy statement that, Rev. Jesse Jackson claims, ignores all but a "narrow section of mostly white upper-middle-class people." In a growing alliance, the new Populists and the Rainbow Coalition are resisting the conservative Democratic takeover of the party.

Arguing that liberalism has been the cause of its election failures, conservative Democrats are planning for the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination. Two DLC members, Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO)—who helped found the DLC in 1984—and Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona have formed exploratory campaign committees and are making bids for the nomination. Other conservatives are calling for the nomination of a Southerner. DLC chairman, former Virginia governor Charles S. Robb, is cited as the likely candidate. Gephardt gets mentioned as "an acceptable second choice." Robb is known for his claim that fixed wages are obsolete and put American industry at a competitive disadvantage. Workers, he says, ought to be paid according to the profitability of the company for which they work.

Populists and the Rainbow Coalition, organizing against the conservatives, have different constituencies but have found common ground. Both differ from traditional liberalism in their call for "self-help" programs over "liberal bureaucracies." Both "want to open the electoral and economic processes to those left out," and believe voters will support a "progressive" platform.

Included in the populist ranks are both Texas Agricultural Commissioner Jim Hightower and suburban Maryland Senator-elect Barbara Mikulski. John Cooper, aide to Lane Evans (D-IL), chair of the House Populist Caucus, says populism means "opening the system so that all people have equal opportunities, for example, for educational and entrepreneurial activity, so that they can make it on their own, instead of a bureaucracy trying to solve their problems."

Tom Harkin (D-IA), chair of the three-member Senate Populist Caucus, says his aim is to "turn the Democratic Party around so it is once again on the side of farmers and workers." Democratic politicians, he claims, "have left their roots" and, like Republicans, are siding with big business. The populists, he says, want to get government "out of the pockets of the big boys and corporations."

Populists did well in the November elec-

tions, a sign they interpret as support for their message. They won new members to the 25-member House Populist Caucus, and three populists, Tom Dashle (D-SD), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) and Kent Conrad (D-ND), won election to the Senate, doubling the size of the Senate Populist Caucus. Cooper observes that the strong showings of such populists as Ed Garvey in Wisconsin and Bob Edgar in Pennsylvania and the populist-style campaigns of Senate victors Brock Adams (D-WA) and Dwight Fowler (D-GA) will persuade other Democrats that "populism is a positive direction."

Jesse Jackson also stresses the importance of opening the system, of self-help and entrepreneurial activities. In 1971 he sponsored Black Expo in Chicago to showcase black-owned businesses. In 1980 he lobbied at the Democratic national convention against the platform plank calling for a federal jobs program. And in 1982, at a meeting of the National Business League in New Orleans, he exhorted blacks to move beyond "civil rights to silver rights and from aid to trade." His Operation PUSH initiated campaigns to improve the scholastic achievement of blacks by urging the children to study more, and to increase the number of black-owned franchises. Jackson's explanation for the latter was the desire for a fair share of opportunities for risk and rewards.

Unlike the populists, the Rainbow Coalition has been unable fully to assess its election victories. Carolyn Kazdin, Rainbow's farm and labor coordinator, says this is because Rainbow candidates ran for a wide variety of offices. The result of Jackson's campaign message in the 1984 presidential election was that people who were previously politically isolated began running for "everything from senator to dog catcher."

In Washington, D.C., for example, Rainbow members were elected to the offices of mayor and city council, and in Vermont seven out of 15 Rainbow candidates were elected to the state legislature.

Kazdin argues that the influence of the Rainbow Coalition goes beyond the number of election victories. Besides the inspiration it provides to the disaffected, she says that Rainbow can change the political groundwork and "make the difference." According to Jackson the election showed an "increase in voter registration, participation and sophistication." Conservative Democrats may claim the November election was a vote of confidence for their move to the right, but Jackson points out that black votes made the recapture of the Senate possible. The Democrats who won Senate races in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, North Caro-

Despite differences in their views of the world, new populists and Rainbow Coalition leaders are seeking ways to join forces for the '88 presidential election campaign.

lina and South Carolina, received one-third of their votes from blacks. In Alabama, 225,000 black voters helped Richard Shelby defeat Republican incumbent Jeremiah Denton, 600,098 to 591,085.

The strength of the populist-Rainbow alliance will no doubt be put to the test. Conservatives are courting populists. Gephardt,

who has a reputation for moving with the wind, spoke in September to the Farm-Aid-sponsored United Farmer and Rancher Congress, promising farmers protectionism in agriculture, a theme that appeals to some of the populist contingent.

Populists do not view the world in the same way Jackson does. Most populists seem to think that there once was equal opportunity in America, but some combination of big banks and corporations, big government and foreign competition brought the downfall of the golden age. Some, such as Rep. Harold Volkmer (D-MO) believe that government encroachment on individual liberties, via the regulation of gun ownership, bears much of the blame. A large minority at the United Farmer and Rancher Congress blamed foreigners for America's economic woes and wanted to bar the sale of all foreign products in the U.S. unless 100 percent of the income from such sales is used by other countries to buy American products.

White farmers who have cooperated most energetically with black farmers in the South, according to farm organizer Shirley Sherrod, "are associated with those right-wing groups in Idaho," and believe that Jewish bankers and Communists, controlling the federal government, are the cause of misfortune in the U.S. Though most populists condemn anti-Semitism and say it is corporate greed that is responsible for the foreign competition that is closing opportunity in America, the populists nevertheless have their conservative side. Since in today's political climate anti-foreign rhetoric plays better than anti-corporate rhetoric, these elements could provide the motivation for populist candidates to break with the Rainbow Coalition and join with conservative Democrats.

But the Rainbow Coalition is optimistic. Kazdin says farmers latch on to anti-foreign and anti-Semitic explanations when they are powerless and unorganized. In the Northern farming states, where liberal candidates have begun organizing, these arguments lose their appeal. About the populists, she says, "We work together whenever we can. We like their support of programs to keep people working."

Populists are also optimistic. Cooper insists that the Rainbow Coalition is strong. Jackson, he points out, "has been an outspoken proponent of the family farmer," and farmers, like the 300 at the April 1986 Rainbow convention, have been supportive of Jackson.

The strength of the populist/Rainbow alliance might best be measured by Rainbow Coalition support of populist candidates in November. According to Kazdin, Rainbow supported populist candidates like Evans, Edgar and Garvey. "We sent get-out-the-vote tapes" to many candidates and Jackson personally campaigned for candidates in 16 different states.

Populists and the Rainbow Coalition may have significant strength at the next Democratic convention. At the 1984 convention Jackson had 465 of the 3,857 delegates. Though he had received 19 percent of the popular vote in the primaries, he was shunned by the Democratic Party leadership. A joint Rainbow-populist candidate might do better.

Richard Spencer teaches philosophy at Belleville Area College in Illinois. Peter Downs contributes to the *St. Louis Journalism Review*.

Populists and the Rainbow Coalition may have significant strength at the next Democratic convention; at the 1984 convention Rev. Jesse Jackson had 465 of the 3,857 delegates.



What to do about the budget deficit?

The 1986 election has shifted the balance of power in Congress somewhat to the left. But any attempt to pass social welfare legislation will run smack into a difficult obstacle: the federal budget deficit. The left has to confront this obstacle. The huge deficit is the outcome of six years of Reaganomics. It has significant social costs, but they are not the ones usually cited. Solutions that point the way toward a progressive economic program are possible.

Why the deficit? Fiscal year 1986, which just ended, registered a record deficit of \$221 billion. But the size of the deficit is meaningful only in relation to the size of the economy. The mushrooming of the deficit began in 1980, with 1979 the last year of moderate size deficits. From 1979 to 1985 the deficit rose from only two-thirds of 1 percent of GNP to 5 percent of GNP. Normally, deficits rise during business recessions and fall during expansions. But the deficit has been larger, relative to GNP, in the 1983-86 expansion than it had been in the severe 1981-82 recession.

Reagan administration policies have caused these growing deficits.

- One major culprit is the Kemp-Roth tax cut bill of 1981. The brain-child of supply-side theorists, this bill slashed taxes for corporations and wealthy households under the pretense of stimulating saving and investment. These cuts, combined with a simultaneous rise in social security taxes, increased taxes for the 80 percent of taxpayers with incomes under \$30,000, while those with incomes of more than \$100,000 received sizeable tax cuts. Meanwhile, the effective rate of taxation on corporate profits was cut in half between 1979 and 1983. The effect on federal tax collections was dramatic: between 1979 and 1985 total personal and corporate tax revenues declined from 12.2 percent of GNP to 10.5 percent of GNP. This 1.7 percentage point drop accounts for about one-third of the growth of the deficit relative to GNP.

- The second major culprit has been the administration's military buildup. Spending more than one trillion dollars since 1981 raised the ratio of military spending to GNP by 1.7 percentage points. This accounts for another third of the deficit increase from 1979-85.

- The third culprit is less obvious. Upon assuming the chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board (the "Fed") in 1979, Paul Volcker shifted monetary policy sharply toward tight money. Since the Reagan administration has supported Volcker's policies and reappointed him in 1983, it is reasonable to include the Fed's monetary policy with administration policy. The high interest rates caused by the Fed's tight money policy, together with the growth of the outstanding debt fed by the large deficits, caused interest payments on the public debt to skyrocket, reaching \$129 billion in 1985. It is the old debt trap: more borrowing means more interest payments which necessitates more borrowing to pay the increased interest—with sharply higher interest rates making the process all the more entrapping. Interest payments on the public debt reached 3.2 percent of GNP in 1985, up by 1.5 percentage points since 1979. This accounts for the remaining third of the in-

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David M. Kotz



crease in the deficit relative to GNP since 1979.

The impact of these Reagan administration policies on the deficit would have been less severe if the policies had achieved their stated aim of bringing rapid growth. Rapid growth would have raised tax collections even at today's lower rates and reduced outlays for social welfare programs. But, as was shown in a previous column ("Everybody's Business," *ITT*, Sept. 10, 1986), growth performance has been sluggish since 1981, as saving and investment have failed to respond to Reagan's voodoo economics remedies.

Consequences of the deficit: A chorus of bankers, politicians and economists have insisted that the deficit is responsible for high interest rates. Although interest rates have come down since 1981, real interest rates (corrected after inflation) still remain high by historical standards. (The real prime rate is currently between 4.6 percent and 8.4 percent, depending on how it is measured.) High interest rates of the '80s have been disastrous—retarding investment, forcing bankruptcies, increasing the Third World debt burden and pushing the international value of the dollar up, which subjects American-produced goods to devastating competition from abroad.

The argument seems plausible enough on the face of it. A large deficit means the government must borrow a lot, which pulls up interest rates. And the point is valid in the sense that, if the deficit were eliminated tomorrow by slashing spending, the sharp reduction in demand for borrowed funds would send interest rates way down. But it would also send the economy way down, into a massive depression, if 200 odd billion dollars of demand for goods and services disappeared.

Blaming high interest rates on the federal deficit is politically attractive to both liber-

als and conservatives. For liberals it is one more way to make the Reagan administration look bad, since it is responsible for the deficit. Paul Volcker is a less attractive target. Conservatives use this argument to keep up the pressure to cut back social programs and try to point the finger at "spendthrift liberals" in Congress.

But attributing high interest rates to the federal deficit is too simplistic and runs counter to the evidence. Government borrowing is just one part of the demand for credit. Despite the enormous deficit, in 1985 federal borrowing represented only 24 percent of total demand for credit, the remainder being private credit demand. Changes in private credit demand and changes in the supply of loanable funds can, and usually do, outweigh the effect of changes in federal borrowing on interest rates.

This explains the otherwise paradoxical fact that rising federal deficits are usually accompanied by falling interest rates, not rising interest rates. Thus, since 1981 interest rates have trended gradually downward, despite growing deficits, because in the depressed early '80s private credit demand was depressed, and in the mid-'80s monetary policy has been eased somewhat. Easing monetary policy pumps more reserves into the banks, which enables them to lend more money, lowering interest rates.

The lesson of all this is that real interest rates could be brought down from their current historically high levels without slashing federal spending. Given the substantial unemployment, idle industrial capacity, low inflation rate and overvalued dollar, a much easier monetary policy could be followed without any ill effect. It would expand the supply of credit and bring down interest rates, without the disastrous side effects that would follow a slash in federal spending.

There are other claims about the effects of deficits that are hard to justify. Many believe that deficits are inflationary. That would be true at full employment, but with substantial unemployment, deficits tend to expand real GNP rather than fueling inflation. In fact, inflation rapidly declined as the Reagan deficits grew. Some fear that the government may have difficulty finding willing lenders or meeting the payments on the debt, but as long as the government retains political authority and the power to tax, those are not problems.

But the deficit does have a major social cost. It is responsible for the second largest income redistribution program run by the federal government: interest payments on the public debt. Every year the government spends billions of tax dollars to pay interest to the wealthy individuals and large corporations and banks that hold the great bulk of the public debt. In 1985 these interest payments were double Medicare spending, four times education spending, five times agriculture spending, slightly greater than all income security programs excluding Social Security and second among transfer programs only to Social Security disbursements.

The real irony is that, when the Kemp-Roth bill relieved wealthy individuals and corporations of much of their tax burden, the government then had to borrow more to make up for the reduced tax take—since spending continued to increase due to the military buildup. Hence, the same wealthy people and corporations, that would have contributed funds to the military buildup each April 15, now lend the money instead, and in return receive interest, which must ultimately be paid for by the rest of us taxpayers who were unfortunately passed over by Kemp-Roth.

How to cut the deficit: A program to cut the deficit follows naturally from understanding its causes. First, we should go back to taxing wealthy households and corporations rather than borrowing from them. Just going back to the effective corporate tax rate of 1979 would boost revenues by about \$60 billion, which is over one-third of the projected fiscal 1987 deficit. And since tax cuts for the rich and corporations have failed to stimulate investment in the '80s, it seems reasonable to expect that tax increases for them would not retard investments.

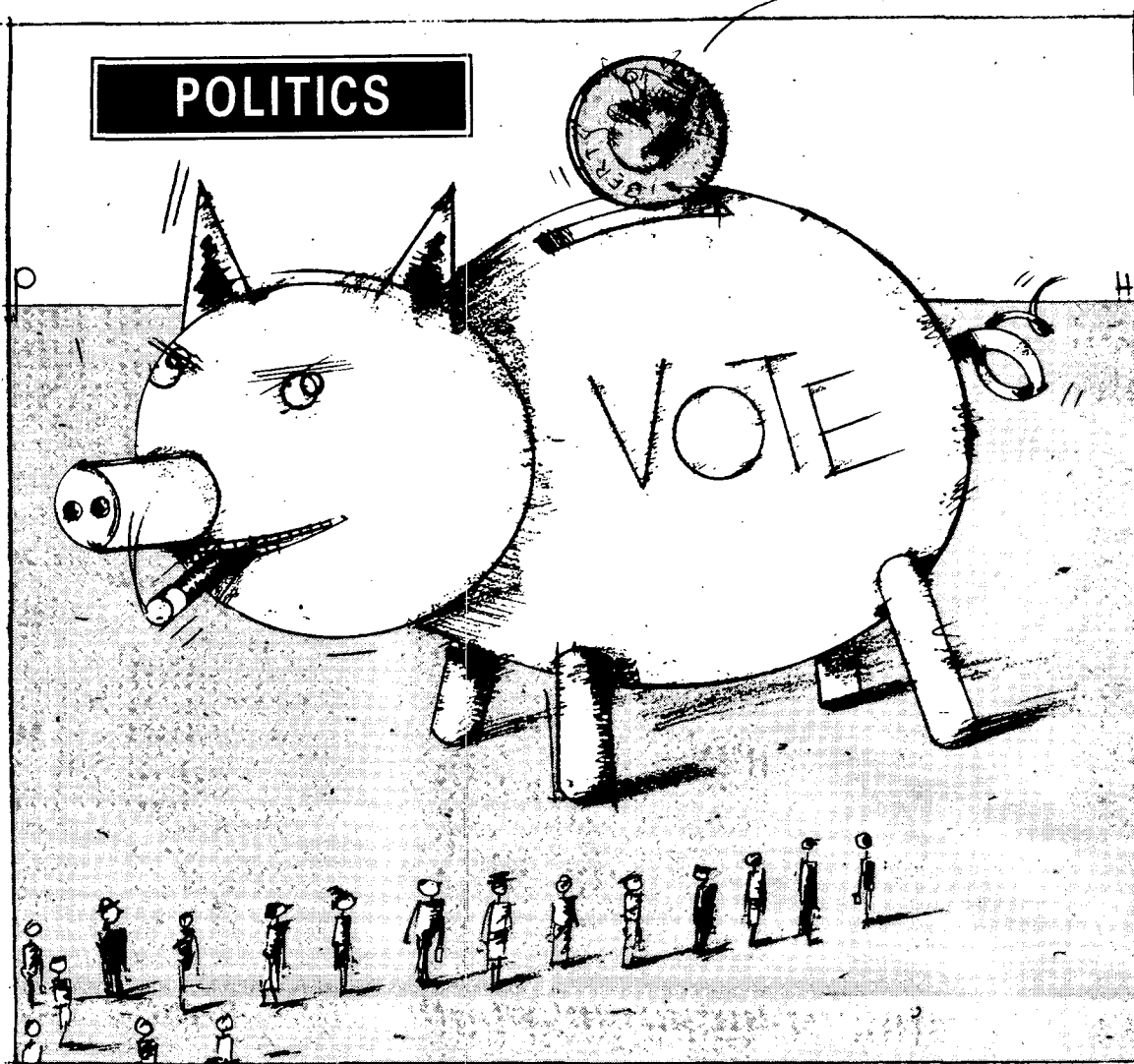
Second, the Fed should pursue an easy money policy, aimed at getting interest rates down to the 3-5 percent range, the level attained in the '50s and early '60s. This would eventually cut interest payments on the existing public debt by about \$60 billion. It would also give a big boost to business investment, homebuilding, exports and Third World debtors.

Third, a full employment program, aiming for a measured unemployment rate of 2-3 percent, would raise tax collections and cut the cost of income maintenance programs, potentially bringing the budget near to balance.

It would not be desirable to cut overall federal spending, given the high unemployment rate. But a big cut in military spending would permit a roughly equal increase in spending for social programs such as health care, housing, education and transportation. Besides being desirable in its own right, such spending contributes in the long run to the productivity of the population, unlike military spending. And a more productive population will mean more growth and smaller deficits in the long run.

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On leaning left and turning right



Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics

By Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers
Hill and Wang, 276 pp., \$19.95

By Jim Naureckas

IRONICALLY, THOMAS FERGUSON AND Joel Rogers begin their book, *Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics*, by arguing that there's been no right turn—at least not among the general public. The authors advance the thesis, which may be familiar to some readers, that the much-heralded new conservative mood in America is largely a figment of the media's imagination.

They back up this contention with polls that show steady or rising support for social spending, environmental regulation, affirmative action (45 percent recognized its necessity in 1978, 71 percent in 1985) and other liberal goals, even through the nadir of the Reagan years. The depth of anti-corporate sentiment in this country should make any radical proud to be an American—in 1979, 79 out of 100 people agreed that "there is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few large companies for the good of the nation," up from 61 percent in 1969.

Aside from limited areas—the authors cite resistance to tax increases, support of tougher criminal sentences and, for a while, a desire for more military spending—the electorate has not shown anything that could be described as a shift to the right in the past two decades. Indeed, if public policies followed public opinion, the '80s would be remembered as a time of increasing liberalization in many areas.

The right stuff: Yet it is undeniable that there has been a right turn of some sort in U.S. politics. The most right-wing president since Coolidge has won two electoral landslides; the Republicans had control of the Senate for six years; and the center of political debate—among political and journalistic elites, not in the public—has shifted markedly.

Conventional political scientists, who assume that public policy reflects public opinion as expressed through elections, are at a loss to explain this phenomenon. But Ferguson and Rogers argue that American public policy is not determined democratically, but rather is controlled by members of major business and establishment groups, whom Ferguson and Rogers refer to as "investors."

These people—whom the authors divide into different business factions—"invest" in various par-

ties and candidates, choosing those whose policies best match the investors' perceived interests. Since they control campaign funding, most political organizations and most media outlets, their investment is what determines political success or failure in America.

This ought not to be news to most readers—and, probably, it's the common-sense view of most Americans, including the 63 percent who chose not to vote in the last election. What makes *Right Turn* such an important book is its documentation and its detail—Ferguson and Rogers give us an annotated blueprint of the real political structure that runs our nation.

(A caveat: the wealth of data in the book regarding who supports whom is not as "scientific" as it may first appear. As the authors note in an appendix, "We do not believe that the legally restricted contributions reported by the FEC yield very much useful information on the actual quantity of resources expended." Members of the Forbes 400 and other prominent individuals are tracked to see whom they have supported, even though the amount of their declared contributions may not be significant. That these people have a major impact on campaigns and elections is thus both a premise and a major conclusion of the book.)

The real right turn, for Ferguson

and Rogers, is a result of the breakdown of what they call "the New Deal coalition," described as "a new power bloc of capital-intensive industries, investment banks and internationally oriented commercial banks"—with labor as a sort of junior partner.

Cracks in the system: These business groups—including such up-and-comers as IBM, General Electric and many of the largest oil companies—stood to benefit from international trade, and so were opposed to tariffs and in favor of an internationalist foreign policy. Being capital-intensive, they could afford to create a political base with liberal social programs and labor laws—at least until the late '60s.

The cracks in this system, according to the authors, resulted from the increasing competitiveness of the world economy. In 1950, the U.S. controlled a fifth of all trade; by 1980, that had fallen to one-tenth. At the same time, U.S. dependence on the world market grew—as late as 1970, imports and exports made up only 8.3 percent of the U.S. gross national product; in 1980 they were 17.4 percent.

In short, the U.S. became more involved in the world market at the same time that it ceased to dominate that market. This new economic environment, Ferguson and Rogers say, was the basis for the new political climate of the '70s and '80s—what Thomas Byrne Edsall called "the new politics of inequality." Traditional corporate sponsors deserted the Democrats in favor of the Republicans, feeling that liberalism was now a threat to the profits they had become accustomed to—forming what might be called the right turn coalition.

The real right turn is a result of the breakdown of "the New Deal coalition" characterized as a new bloc of capital-intensive industries and big banks—with labor as a junior partner.

It's no news that the Reagan administration supports and is supported by big business. But *Right Turn* also documents—mainly through an in-depth look at the 1984 campaign—how the Democrats play the same side of the street.

Cash flow flowchart: Ferguson and Rogers show who came up with the money for all the major primary campaigns—Mondale's (investment banking, real estate, a few multina-

tionals), Glenn's (industry, largely military), Hart's (high-tech, some oil and enormous loans from an Arab-owned bank), Jackson's (mostly grassroots) and McGovern's (nobody).

The book explains why Mondale's campaign was so disappointing—he moved to the right on foreign policy to pick up contributions from Glenn's supporters after Glenn left the race, and then ran a campaign based on "fiscal responsibility" (i.e., raising taxes), because that's what his advisers from the world of high finance were looking for. Having the support of only a fraction of the business community, but running his campaign to please that fraction anyway, Mondale suffered one of the largest defeats in electoral history.

The authors don't see much hope for a politics not based on corporate interests. In their view, the resources commanded by the current establishment are overwhelming: "The only way to relieve deficiencies of time and money is through time and money."

Well, not exactly. *Right Turn* needs more discussion of how corporate support translates into votes. Voters make their choices based on information from advertising and the media, which can be bought, but also on their objective interests, which cannot.

Right Turn makes clear that the main factor behind Reagan's reelection was the (artificially) booming 1984 economy. Most people thought they would be better off if Reagan were re-elected—and people who felt this way voted overwhelmingly for Reagan, even if they disagreed with him on almost all other issues.

The hope of the New Deal coalition was to reconcile corporate interests with the interests of the majority of Americans. The right turn was an admission that you can't. But people aren't going to keep voting for policies that ignore their own interests. Unless Reaganomics actually has brought prolonged, stable growth to this country, and the right turn coalition can continue to put off the divisive issues of the trade imbalance and the deficit, the right turn will prove to be a dead end. (The extended uproar over the Iran/contra affair may indicate that this point has already arrived.)

Whatever is the case, *Right Turn* is an essential book about the practical workings of American politics. Reading it, one can't help but agree with Lincoln Steffens, quoted at the beginning of Ferguson and Rogers' other book, *The Hidden Election*: "Politics is business, that's what's the matter with it. That's what's the matter with everything."

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Prisoners of the American Dream

By Mike Davis
Verso/Schocken, 320 pp., \$24.95,
\$10.95 paper

Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson

By Manning Marable
Verso/Schocken, 366 pp., \$8.95

By Bill Farrell

Dreaming of new deals and brighter rainbows



Marable presents a first-rate analysis of contemporary black politics.

ENOUGH TIME HAS PASSED SINCE Reagan's re-election for serious works to appear exploring how American politics have come to such a point. Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers' *Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics* studies the role of money and elite support in setting the limits of political dialogue in America (see accompanying story). Sidney Blumenthal's *The Rise of the Counterestablishment: From Conservative Ideology to Political Power* documents the construction of the political cadre of the American Right (see *In These Times*, Nov. 5, 1986). Mike Davis and Manning Marable both have written important additions to this growing library.

In an era in which Marxist historiography seems largely concerned with culture, Davis examines the relationship of capitalism and politics. The uniqueness of his project is demonstrated by some of the misplaced criticism it has been subjected to. David Montgomery, writing in *The Nation*, criticized Davis for not writing labor history from the bottom up; but Davis is concerned with both history and political economy, reintroducing politics into history. Montgomery has so internalized the "new" social history—which amounts to a depoliticized analysis—that he seems unable to understand what Davis is doing.

Perhaps two (or, depending how one chooses to read them, three) of the essays on the American working class underemphasize how the working class shaped history, but Davis' framework remains open to such analysis. In any case, the return to political economy is well worth it.

The first part of *Prisoners of the American Dream* examines American labor and working-class history, while focusing upon the question of why labor in the U.S. has been so unsuccessful in pursuing its interests. This question comes terribly close to that old canard: why is there no socialism in the U.S.? It is a bad question with an obvious answer: why should there be? Socialist teleology, like its liberal cousin, is the cause of much bad history.

At times Davis seems to accept the question and its companion, the myth of American exceptionalism. Whatever validity that concept may once have had, it makes no sense to speak of American exceptionalism during an era of global capitalism and economic interdependence in which the U.S.

is the leading figure. Indeed, Davis' analysis of global capitalism undercuts much of the case for American exceptionalism.

Ford has a consuming idea: Fortunately, Davis breaks out of his self-imposed straitjacket in an examination of the incorporation of organized labor into the Democratic Party. This marriage was cemented by the post-World War II economic expansion, an expansion led by mass consumption, dependent upon mass markets and relatively high wages. The Fordist regimen of capital accumulation benefitted more than capitalists. As Davis writes, "In this fashion, perhaps a quarter of the American population—especially white-ethnic, semi-skilled workers and their families—were raised to previously middle-class or skilled-worker thresholds of home ownership and credit purchase during the 1950s." Under American aegis, Fordism was planted in Western Europe and Japan.

But the benefits of Fordism did not extend to all. Most American blacks, all agricultural workers and others—between one-quarter to one-third of the population—were excluded from the high-wage economy, keeping them in poverty while curtailing the growth and maintenance of high-wage consumption. The government-subsidized growth of the Sunbelt slowed, though the anti-union atmosphere kept the wages and consumption of much of its population

low even at its economic growth peak. Many industries responded to economic difficulties by moving plants to Third World dictatorships with low wages, while others cut domestic wages.

Plans to make many Third World nations into autonomous industrial societies came to nothing. The most disastrous failures were in Latin America, where reformist illusions fostered by the Kennedy Alliance for Progress were crushed. Hope for high-wage expansion was replaced by low-wage repression, sponsored by the U.S., as well as American-supported coups like that in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

These were among the contradictions that undermined Fordism by constricting the maintenance of high consumption. With Fordism went both the social contract established by the New Deal and the New Deal coalition.

The search for new consumer markets prompted expansion in the wealthier Third World countries, which failed due to extraordinary Third World debt levels and default anxiety. The source of steady high consumption was the new financial, professional and technical elite—the yuppies—whose consumption fueled "overconsumptionism," a pattern that Davis believes cannot sustain growth.

Where the elite compete: Davis envisions a bleak future in which the new elite mobilize politically to protect their slice of a shrinking

pie. The 1984 election and the Democrats' abandonment of labor and the poor, especially blacks, may have been a preview.

In Davis' view, any progressive coalition in the foreseeable future must be rooted in Third World communities in the U.S., particularly now that the European immigrants who provided the mass base for progressive movements in much of the 20th century have been assimilated or died of old age. Yet struggles over South Africa and Latin America may provide the political consciousness necessary to engage in political struggles within the U.S.

Davis is caustic in describing the abandonment of Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition by organized labor, feminists and the left press. The Jackson campaign was the first serious coherent social-democratic effort in recent American history, with the most pro-labor and pro-

HISTORY

feminist platform. Yet when the trumpet sounded, the call went unheeded as "progressive" forces rushed to embrace a Cold Warrior advocating a military quarantine of Nicaragua and Hooverian fiscal conservatism.

Prisoners of the American Dream, however, fails to confront the implications of Jackson's defeat for Davis' own analysis. The prospects of a successful minority-led "progressive" movement in the U.S. are bleak. Though Davis' focus upon "Third World" communities in America provides an answer to the question of political consciousness, it fails to explain how the left can win. The majority of poor in America, and certainly of have-nots, are white. They would have to be included in any successful progressive coalition.

Though Davis speaks of the need to establish links between minorities and organized labor, he never

Davis envisions a bleak future in which the new elite mobilize politically to protect their slice of a shrinking pie. The '84 election and the Democrats' abandoning labor and the poor may have been a preview.

explains how to accomplish this. And even if every white leftist had supported Jackson, he still would have lost. Absent new strategy, about which Davis is silent, it is still unclear why the Rainbow Coalition should do significantly better in the future than it did in 1984. Though Jackson's achievements

were substantial, to imply that the Rainbow Coalition could provide the basis for a political transformation of the U.S. is unrealistic.

Manning, the trenches: Despite its limitations, Davis has written a rigorous work of political economy—though more attention might have been paid to the explosion of the financial market. If Davis is correct about the Rainbow Coalition's centrality to any future "progressive" movement, then Manning Marable, by providing the best analysis yet of the Jackson presidential campaign, has provided an essential new book, *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson*.

Marable presents a first-rate analysis of contemporary black politics. His examination of the civil rights movements, particularly of the internal politics revolving around various Washington marches, never fails to enlighten, though his major contribution is his discussion of the construction of the Rainbow Coalition, from its origins in Harold Washington's 1983 mayoral victory in Chicago to the 1984 Democratic national convention.

Along the way, insights abound. For example, Marable reveals that prior to his nomination, Mondale aides wrote a 250-page study concluding that "the only way Mondale can win is by pitching his appeal to the white working class and minorities, not the middle class." Mondale could not, for a variety of reasons, follow this advice. (In his book, Davis recounts the now famous meeting of Mondale and 70 of his principal financial backers. Told to stop knocking the rich, who were financing his campaign, Mondale replied, "Oh my goodness, I'm so sorry. There's nothing wrong with wanting to be rich. I want to be rich.") As Marable puts it, Mondale offered not a choice but a whimper.

Beyond his analysis of the election, Marable presents an arresting portrait of how a democratic movement transforms those involved. Marable is suspicious of Jackson, whose career he sees as frequently marked by opportunism, among other failings. Yet by the end of the campaign, Marable contends, leadership of a democratic movement had transformed Jackson into a genuinely great, if flawed, man.

Marable's comparative historical analysis of black resistance throughout the Caribbean, South Africa and America is far less certain, as is his claim that the black petit-bourgeoisie betrayed the mass of blacks during Reconstruction. (Black society emerged from slavery with underdeveloped class structure—in fact, virtually no class structure.) Marable, despite some failings, has written an excellent addition to the literature of contemporary American politics. ■

Bill Farrell is a freelance writer whose work has appeared in *The Nation* and *Middle East International* (London) among other publications.

IN THESE TIMES JAN. 28-FEB. 3, 1987 19

And May the Best Haircut Win

While political columnists are bemoaning politics-by-media, Herb Schmertz—the man who brainstormed Mobil Oil's greasing of its public image—has been dreaming up adaptations. In a recent syndicated column, he proposed that TV anchors, those powerful arbiters of public opinion, be elected. "In a democracy such power must be controlled by the people, not by three guys behind the scenery," he argued, pointing out that runners-up could be "vice-anchors," or "vanks." In an era in which the categories of consumer and citizen have been so effectively conflated, Schmertz' satire runs the risk of being taken seriously.

Censorship by Visa

What's cross-cultural exchange and what's a threat to national security? And is deciding that question how we want our government officials to spend their time? That's the issue raised in a fascinating documentary recently aired on public TV: "Do Not Enter: The Visa War Against Ideas." Veteran filmmaker Bob Richter and newcomer Catherine Warnow got revealing interviews with visa-denied figures ranging from Nobel Laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez to Italian dramatist Dario Fo to Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomas Borge. A model of balanced investigative journalism, revealing incompetence as well as intentional suppression over several administrations, the documentary will undoubtedly come under scrutiny as public TV executives investigate bias in their public affairs programming; it has already suffered carping by conservative John Corry in the *New York Times*, who seems to think Tomas Borge's presence on our soil might unduly confuse the American public. Meanwhile, in the *Village Voice*, Leslie Berman reported that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has changed criteria for issue its H-1 temporary working visas, stiffening the definition of who's "distinguished" in a way that many programmers fear will effectively ban all but highly commercial international performers. (The original regulations were designed to protect American performers' jobs.) INS refusals have already kept American audiences safe from British postpunk musicians, many African and Jamaican artists and others who don't have a track record of hits or mainstream critical approval. One thing you can say about the State Department and INS actions: at least they show that our government recognizes the power of cultural interchange.

Message to/from Moscow

For more evidence of the official grasp of the power of culture, take a look at the United States Information Agency's (USIA) latest plans for its cultural exchange program with the USSR. The USIA has put out feelers to Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel. A government spokesperson explained to *Variety*, "It would be too safe to just send top classical artists, and the Soviets would love that." No word yet on whether they could get a visa from the USSR, though. However, the Soviets have asked ABC for broadcast rights to *Amerika*. "Why not show the Soviet people how the American mass media are educating their audience?" said a Soviet TV official.

No Business Like Show Business

TV programs featuring business news are a hot new trend, with networks, cable channels and even Walt Disney's Buena Vista TV vying for viewers' attention. Although some critics carp that this is "supply-side" programming, producers claim (to advertisers, anyway) that the shows attract viewers with pocketbook power. Part of their enthusiasm comes from the example set by public television, which pioneered the form for its relatively upscale audience with *Wall Street Week* and now carries two other national financial-news shows, *Nightly Business Report* and *Adam Smith's Money World*. Watch to see whether any of these business-oriented public affairs shows, or programs such as *Entrepreneurs*, come under scrutiny as public TV conducts bias-and-balance probes this year. Don't expect to see a *Labor Week in Review* or Karl Marx's *Commodity Fetishism* or *Organizers* come out as programming recommendations, though.

Hello? Is This My Public TV Station?

Public TV has long taken dictation from corporate underwriters, whose contributions are typically pegged to programming. But now Boston station WGBH is lending them the shop as well. A local management firm needing extra phone lines struck a deal to contribute to WGBH in trade for letting its sales reps use 50 WGBH phone lines during pledge week for company business. At least they also took pledge calls.

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'Alien substance' Haake gets final clearance, arrives in New York

By David Lee

SINCE ITS OPENING IN DECEMBER at New York's New Museum of Contemporary Art, the retrospective of Hans Haake's work has received some great reviews, leaving the artist truly puzzled.

"It's a little strange," he says. "Of course, I'm not complaining about getting a good review, but I don't quite know how to evaluate it, that all of a sudden so many people think what I am doing is okay,

whereas for 15 years there was almost complete blackout. It's peculiar."

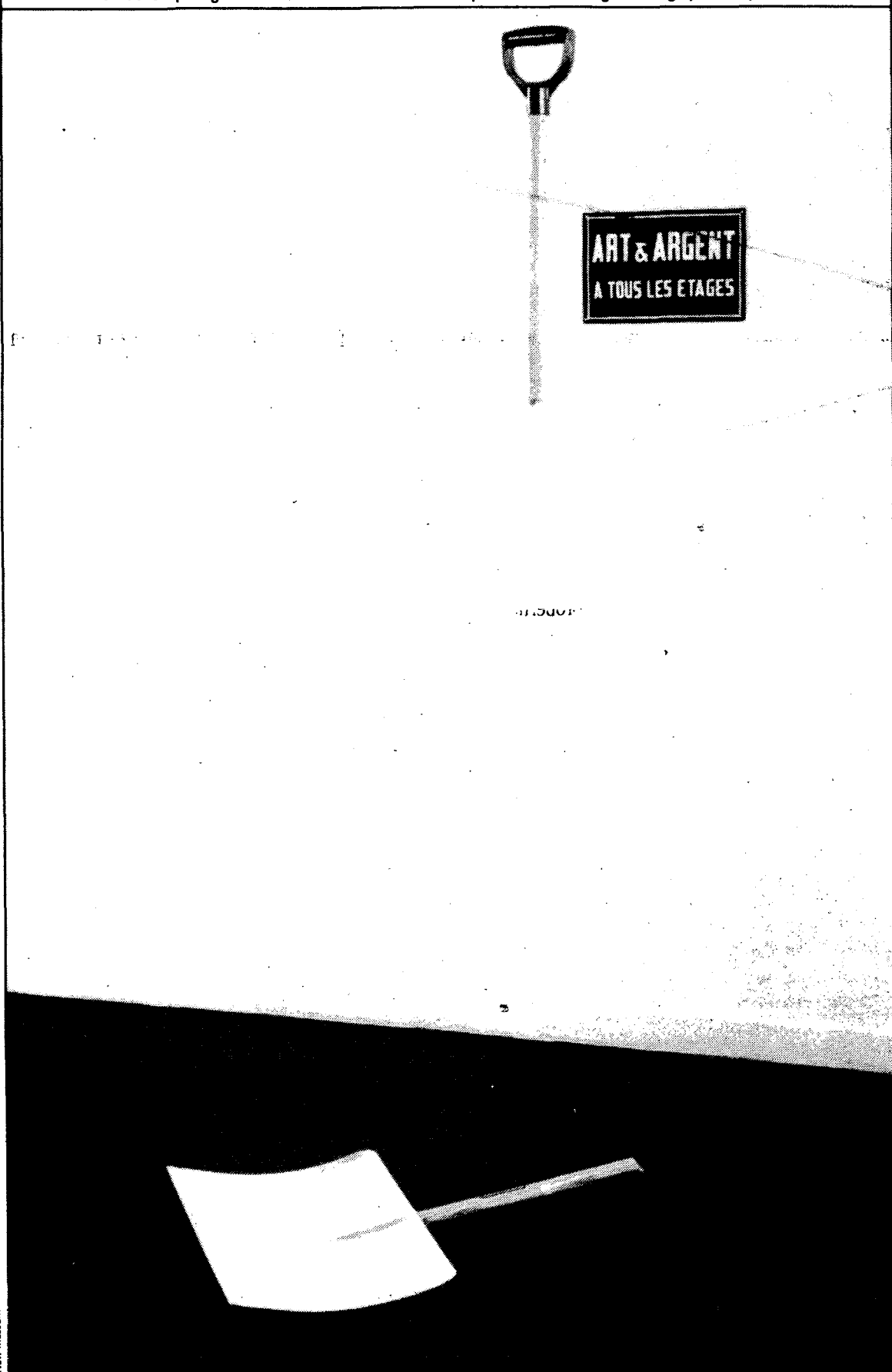
Such suspicion does not come unearned. Nobody has observed the cadence of the contemporary art world more closely and, for all that he has seen, Haake is not so sure that he wants to be another blissful marcher in that parade.

Nonetheless, like all great cultural iconoclasts—from the *com-media dell'arte* to Marcel Duchamp—Hans Haake critiques the system through its own mechanisms. In

1971 the Guggenheim rejected his Manhattan real estate piece, *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings*, for being an "alien substance" in the museum. There was a certain ironic symmetry to this rejection, as if foreignness was something foreign to the history of exhibited art. It represented a great failure on the museum's part to recognize that something "alien" will likely have a great deal to say about the nature of what is considered appropriate.

Even greater ironic symmetry

Broken R.M.: a Duchampian gesture that touches on Haake's ubiquitous themes of governing systems, power and control.



came in 1974 when Haake's *Bunch of Asparagus* was rejected from the Cologne "Projekt 74." Haake proposed to set the Manet painting *Bunch of Asparagus* (1880) on an easel in the gallery with panels hung on surrounding walls. The panels would "present the social and economic position of the persons who have owned the painting over the years and the prices that were paid for it." Sitting in the gallery with its provenance exposed, the painting became an embarrassment to its current owner, the Wallraf-Richartzes, particularly with documentation that the author of the painting's purchase, museum benefactor Hermann Abs, was an officer of the Reichsbank during the Nazi era.

Tacit collaborators: Haake opened his retrospective at the New Museum with a press conference. He took the opportunity to thank all the people who made the exhibit possible, from the truck drivers to the museum staff, even to members of the press, "tacit collaborators in this consciousness industry."

It seemed for a moment like an apology for the artist to admit his reliance on this industry of publicly received art that is so often the target of his jabs, were it not for the understanding that his work depends on this collaboration—not only for its physical presence in the gallery but, equally important, for providing a conceptual context. His work never rails cynically at the injustices of the world; it stands as a witty and sardonic participant.

In Haake's work, even his earlier environmental pieces, the point of

ART

interlocution has always been an important subtext. His sealed plexiglass *Condensation Boxes* from 1963, with their changing patterns of distilled water are concise illustrations of the effects of external temperature and pressure on minute internal atmospheres.

The New Museum has chosen 1971 as a starting point for this retrospective, with the Manhattan real estate installation. The work consists of a long row of photographs of buildings in the East Village and Harlem, each accompanied by detailed documentation of ownership and price of acquisition, in every case by a member or affiliate of the Shapolsky family. Little maps illustrate the boundaries of this slumlord kingdom.

Times have changed since the Guggenheim refusal, but the work remains intransigent. It turns the gallery into a socially oriented variation of the condensation box. "I was dealing with this peculiar art world phenomenon—the separation of spheres of social life."

The subtitle of the piece is *A Real-Time Social System as of May 1, 1971*. "Real-time in that what artists are generally involved in—what they put on their canvases—

does not deal with the real world or the present." Haake explains. "It is some ideal, imagined world or philosophical statement. In my particular case, I am dealing with the day-to-day environment." While the piece itself is finished, the work is never closed. "If you look at the full title, the implication, of course, is that this is the point I've documented and, indeed, it is still going." The effects of speculation and gentrification can still be traced.

Recent pieces in the exhibit tend to be less strictly informational than *Shapolsky, et al.* as Haake makes more use of the associative properties of his materials and their visual presentation. *Metromobilitan*, a replica of New York's Metropolitan Museum facade with its familiar entablature and granite steps, has the anachronistic presence of some transposed ancient monolith—the Temple of Dendur, perhaps. The work, like its title, is a confluence of two distinct powers, one housing the most noble cultural values and another representing the highest achievements of the marketplace.

Stuck inside of Mobil: Three banners hang from the entablature. In the center is an advertisement for the Metropolitan's 1980 exhibit, "Treasures of Ancient Nigeria," underwritten by Mobil. The banners at either side boldly display statements by Mobil: circuitous responses to a 1981 demand by a coalition of shareholders that the company stop supplying oil to the South African military and police. Partially obscured by the banners is a large photograph of a funeral procession for the victims of Cape Town police bullets. For Haake, this juxtaposition underlines the importance of tribalism as one of the primary tools of apartheid; it supports the argu-

ment that only ancient cultures are viable alternatives for black Africa.

This multifaceted piece also questions the whole notion of corporate sponsorship. Central on the entablature, a place generally reserved for meretricious institutional proclamations, is carved a text from a pamphlet published by the Met explaining the "many public relations opportunities that are available through the sponsorship of programs, special exhibitions and services."

Haake makes a good case for the ultimate double standard in this kind of patronage. It is all too easy to say that if Mobil sponsors such wonderful exhibits, more power to them. Like much of the other work in this retrospective, *Metromobilitan* finally demands that each viewer consider his or her individual role. Haake uses standard accepted forms of public information and, in so doing, both parodies the banality of corporate advertising and forces the issue of real public responsibility as an alternative to the idea that everyone benefits from the patronage of great wealth. Haake transforms the message of the desirability of corporate sponsorship for society, to one of individual responsibility.

It's not surprising that Haake focuses on South Africa—it is the locus of history's most traditionally irreconcilable spheres. Of all global conflicts—including super power sabre-rattling—societies of the world have the greatest stake in what happens here. South Africa has come to represent the struggle of the so-called First and Third Worlds to come to terms with each other, to end hundreds of years of colonialism and racist domination by one society of another.

Global Marketing, one of the two new works in this retrospective, is a

black box system of acquisitiveness. Each of the four sides is imprinted with the latest affiliations of the world's largest advertising agency, Saatchi and Saatchi. The company, named for its two owners Maurice and Charles Saatchi, has many South African affiliates and investments, including a 50 percent stake in the South African National Mining Corporation.

The black box is complemented by another Saatchi-related piece, *Taking Stock (unfinished)*, an oil painting with Margaret Thatcher as the diva sitting haughtily on an antique Victorian chair. On the table beside her is a little Victorian statuette of Pandora opening the box. Each volume in the bookcase is named for a Saatchi account and two plates on the top shelf are painted with por-

Using standard forms of public information, Haake parodies corporate advertising and forces the issue of public responsibility.

traits of the brothers; inscribed "MS" and "CS" to avoid any confusion. The neo-classical allusions of this piece shift it into both a fine art mode and one that suggests old-world power and influence. Haake's implication is that culture, wealth and political favors can be important bargaining chips.

The second new work of this retrospective is the simplest in appearance but possibly the richest in reference. *Broken R.M.* has two elements: a broken snow shovel, its

handle suspended from the ceiling and its scoop lying on the floor, and a sign on the nearby wall: "Art and Argent A Tous Les Etages." Both are quotations from Marcel Duchamp—Haake's version of the "readymade" snowshovel is broken and he has replaced the "gas and water" on Duchamp's sign with "art and money." In Duchamp's inscrutably personal lexicon, gas and water were two very important symbols. They were like universal dualities, always opposites and always interconnected.

The reference to Duchamp is both an homage and an indication that we should consider these ubiquitous themes in Haake's work not just in terms of art and money but of governing systems, power and control. The same cultural systems that compelled Duchamp to paint the moustache on the Mona Lisa are here ironically turned on one of Duchamp's own pieces. Haake's broken shovel is a perfectly Duchampian gesture.

Haake does not see himself as a crusader. He is self-effacing and, as a matter of policy, doesn't allow the publication of his photograph. He advocates no particular political agenda, only wishing to bring up issues that are rarely if ever addressed by his contemporaries. Haake has little patience with artists who through their silence allow their work to become bargaining chips in games of corporate profit-seeking. For these reasons, a retrospective of the artist's work is a rare occurrence. Perhaps with all the good reviews it has lost some of its ironic bite. Or perhaps some museum policy-makers have begun to see that there is room for improvement in the art world.

David Lee is a New York-based art critic.

New Museum
Alan Tannenbaum



Hans Haake's *Metromobilitan*: a confluence of the noblest cultural values and the highest achievements of the marketplace.

Pia Vesta

Continued from page 3

Gen. Blandon's denial of official Salvadoran involvement. Alfonso Robelo of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), interviewed by Colombia's Radio Caracol, said the *Pia Vesta*'s cargo was destined for leftist guerrillas in Peru or Colombia. Last June 21, the *Times* of London cited U.S. official sources as claiming that the weapons were intended for Peruvian guerrillas.

Among the most interesting responses to the *Pia Vesta* caper was that of Cuban President Fidel Castro. In an interview last July with the Panamanian TV station Panavision, Castro noted that the leaks in the *New York Times* the previous month concerning the crimes of Panamanian Gen. Noriega—who was implicated in drugs and arms trafficking, money laundering, spying for both the U.S. and Cuba—came from the U.S. State Department, the Pentagon and intelligence and

White House sources. Those leaks coincided with Noriega's undertaking to intercept the *Pia Vesta*. Castro expressed the belief that the leaks had been orchestrated by someone at the National Security Council in a timely effort to discredit Noriega.

The *Pia Vesta* case officially remains unsolved. But *Caretas* reported last November 24 that the Peruvian congressional commission investigating the case had concluded that the weapons were intended for the contras. Perhaps the mystery of the *Pia Vesta* should be investigated by the U.S. Congress as well.

Nelson Valdes is a professor of sociology at the University of New Mexico, director of the Latin America Data Base and publisher of *Central American Update* and the *Latin American Debt Chronicle*. Jan Knippers Black is research professor at the Division of Public Administration, University of New Mexico, and author of *Sentinels of Empire: The United States and Latin American Militarism*.

Native Son

Continued from page 24

tal failure more clearly than its end. In this ending, Bigger has a very different last conversation with the lawyer. He ends it by wishing the rich girl's CP boyfriend (Matt Dillon) well, with the forlorn phrase, "Tell Mr. Ja...uh, Jan, I said hello." That kind of limp hope for interracial bonding would gut the theme of Bigger's contradictory self-creation as a killer, if that theme had ever been part of the movie.

The challenge in making *Native Son* the movie, as it was in writing the book, was to translate a reality we shrink from into art. Wright described fighting mentally an invisible chorus of middle-class blacks and Communist Party friends before he sat down to write the novel. The filmmakers never fought that good fight.

Seen from afar: The tone of the film assumes a continuity of discourse between cultures and classes that Wright's novel chal-

lenged. The expertly controlled third-person style, where the camera stays at a storytelling distance from the subject, guides you like a tourist through the horrors of Chicago slum housing and wafts you elegantly into the comforts of bourgeois domesticity. The ever-so-gracious cinematography features arch contrasts between harsh blue light (for the ghetto) and golden and pastel shades (for the mansion). And so you never feel the anger of *The Unseen* meeting the arrogance of *The Prominent*; you never see Bigger's world through his eyes.

As a result, some excellent acting by the white actors is wasted. Geraldine Page does a superb job as the Irish maid and Elizabeth McGovern and Matt Dillon are a plausible pair of college radicals. But we see them as *we'd* see them, not as Bigger did—as exotic, menacing foreigners, as overlords with so much power that they can break the rules and ignore the fact that somebody will have to pay. McGovern's Mary acts blithe and dumb, but we never feel the moment in which Bigger hates her for it.

Rehab: The premiere screening in Washington, D.C., was attended by a glittering crowd drawn from D.C.'s black bourgeoisie, including Mayor Marion Barry, Sugar Ray Leonard and star Victor Love. It was a benefit for a group working with juvenile offenders, which offers them among other things a 10-day "rehabilitation" course, with a year-long follow-up. The speakers spoke glowingly of the project, in light of the horrific reality on the streets of Washington—the city's PCP use rate is the nation's highest, homicide is the leading cause of death for young men—and the teen pregnancy rate is 50 percent higher than the national average. They spoke of "community" and "responsibility" as a "concept" we could get involved with.

The scene forced a flashback to Wright's description of writing his novel while working at a rehab project called the South Side Boys' Club, which provided desperate and angry child-men with ping-pong and checkers: "These little stopgaps were utterly inadequate to fill up the centuries-long chasm of emptiness which American civilization had created in these Biggers...."

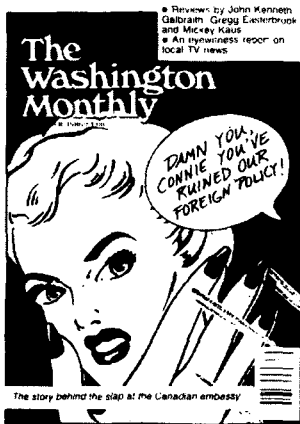
"I would work hard with these Biggers, and when it would come time for me to go home I'd say to myself, under my breath so that no one could hear: 'Go to it, boys! Prove to the bastards that gave you these games that life is stronger than ping-pong.... Show them that full-blooded life is harder and hotter than they suspect, even though that life is draped in a black skin which at heart they despise....'"

There isn't a moment in this movie that gives you the shock of that one comment. Is *Native Son* such a hollow, lovely film by accident? Or has the core theme of the novel become an even more unspeakable and terrifying reality today than it was in 1940? ■

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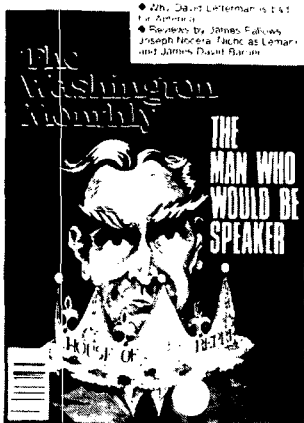
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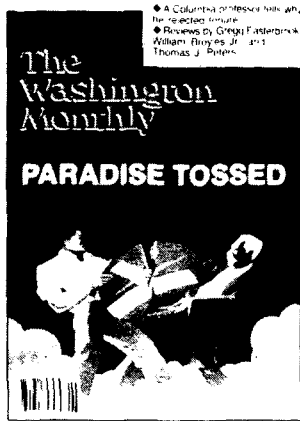
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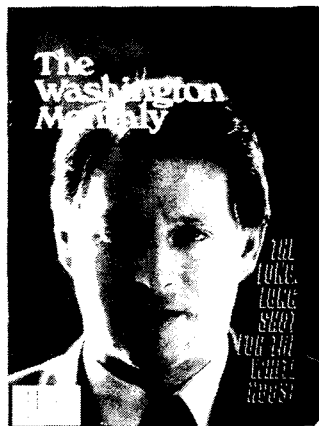
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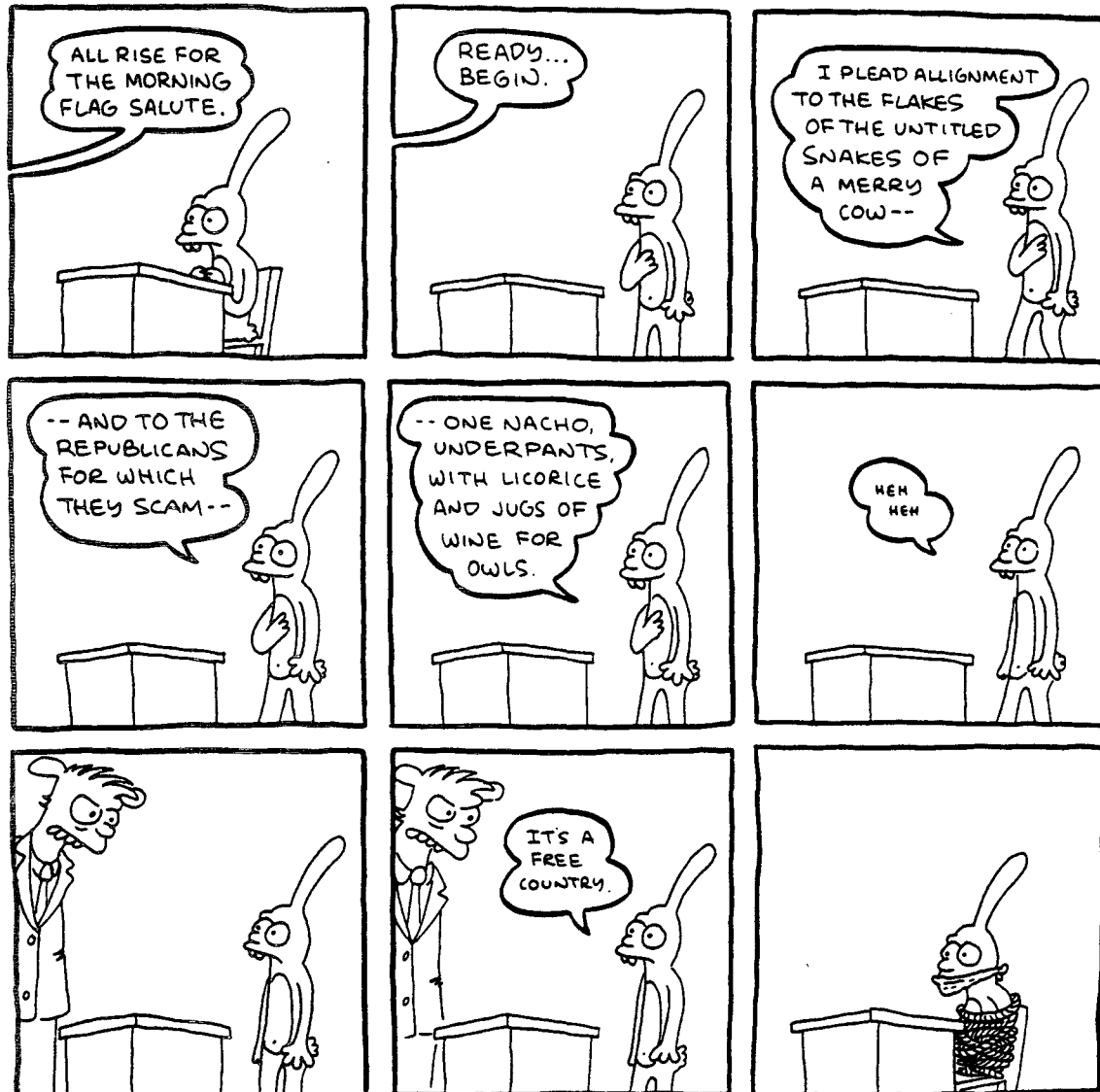
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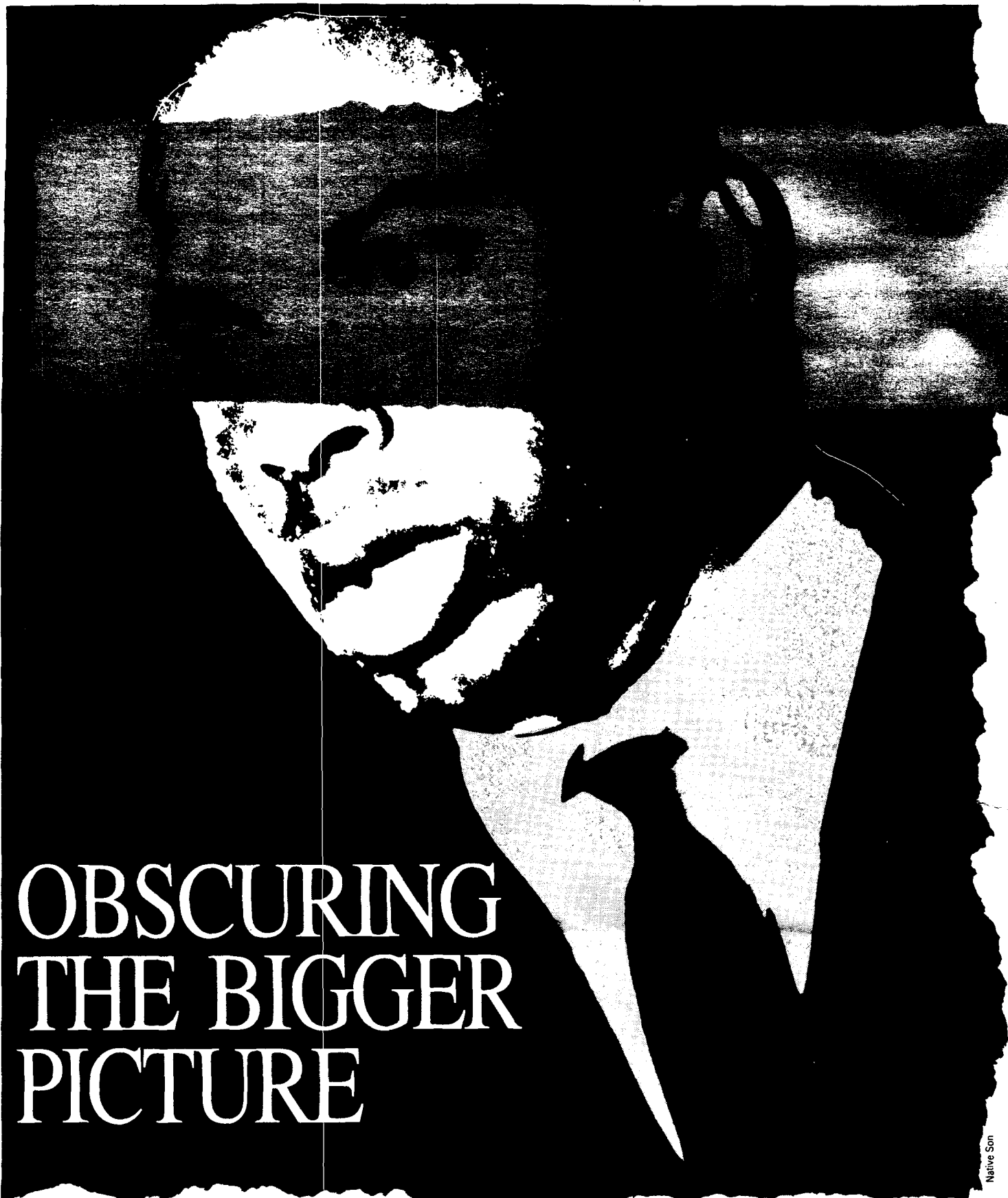
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OBSCURING THE BIGGER PICTURE

Native Son

Directed by Jerrold Freedman

By Pat Aufderheide

IN 1938, RICHARD WRIGHT—A SELF-EDUCATED, Mississippi-born writer involved with the Communist Party—published a collection of short stories called *Uncle Tom's Children*. People wept with sorrow to read them.

Wright was appalled. "I swore to myself that if I ever wrote another book, no one would weep over it," he wrote, "that it would be so hard and deep that they would have to face it without the consolation of tears."

In 1940, Wright published *Native Son*. It's the story of Bigger Thomas, a 20-year-old Chicago migrant from the South who accidentally kills the daughter of the wealthy family for whom he's the "relief job" chauffeur. He flees and, before he's captured, murders his girlfriend.

Bigger stands trial with the help of a Communist Party lawyer. "Listen," the lawyer tells the judge and jury. "What Bigger Thomas did...was but a tiny aspect of what he had been doing all his life long! He was living, only as he knew how, and as we have forced him to live. The actions that resulted

in the death of those two women were as instinctive and inevitable as breathing or blinking one's eyes. It was an act of creation!"

Sentenced to die, Bigger gets a glimmer of the lawyer's Marxist vision, and he probes this still-new notion of purpose in human action.

"I didn't want to kill!" Bigger shouted. "But what I killed for, I am!..."

"What I killed for must've been good!" Bigger's voice was full of frenzied anguish. "It must have been good!... I didn't know I was really alive in this world until I felt things hard enough to kill for 'em...."

Modern man: Bigger was black, and not just black but black and bad. For Wright, he exemplified both the life force and the death force of the black community.

But Wright believed that Bigger wasn't just a creation of black America. He found in Bigger a soul dehumanized by an industrial system so much larger than the fabric of family or community, and so savage in its effects, that for many any role in building a better world (Wright's hope shining through the darkness of the novel) seems impossible. Wright could see fascism, as well as white racist movements, fueled by the inchoate anger of many Biggers.

Despite lit-criticisms of its agitprop con-

struction, its sociological speeches and its symbolic characters, the book speaks as loudly today as it did then. If anything, its meaning has gained urgency over time. Racial violence rocks New York and goes unpunished in a Southern military academy. Today the black youth unemployment rate is the highest in the country; black income is so low that two-thirds of the black population is eligible for welfare programs. While Claude Brown, author of the horrifying street-tale *Manchild in the Promised Land*, soberly warns *New York Times* readers that the nihilistic patterns he described two decades ago are now pandemic. The Ku Klux Klan, with a membership higher than that of the '40s, recruits new members in high schools and colleges.

In the '40s, Hollywood was tempted by *Native Son*, which Wright had written with a deliberately cinematic style. But Wright refused to sell the story to studios who wanted to make the central characters—yes—white. Argentines were more interested. Wright wound up playing Bigger for this South American version, which turned out to be a potboiler.

Hollywood, or the new financial configuration nostalgically referred to as "Hollywood," still isn't interested. But by 1986 an indepen-

dent producer, Diane Silver, managed to pull together some \$2 million to make a version—with the help of such stars as Oprah Winfrey, Geraldine Page, Matt Dillon and Elizabeth McGovern settling for far less than their usual fees. And so in 1987, the only American film version of *Native Son* has been released. People will weep with sorrow over what they see. Richard Wright would be appalled.

Soft and shallow: *Native Son*, the movie, is poignant, touching, tasteful. What it's not is hard or deep. The core of the novel—Bigger's access to freedom through killing, and what that means for survival and reform of a civilization populated by Biggers—is simply missing.

This film glows discreetly with organizational competence. Scriptwriter Richard Wesley (*Uptown Saturday Night*, *Let's Do It Again*, *Fast Forward*) has solid mainstream experience, as does director Jerrold Freedman, most of whose work has been in television. But their workmanlike construction has fatal flaws.

You've met Bigger, seen his face on streets, in alleys, on the subways—but not on this screen. Victor Love, the 29-year-old classically trained actor who debuts on film here, produces a moving portrait of someone, but not Bigger. This is a Bigger with an open face, someone who registers shock, remorse and doubt on the surface. Within the framework of this script, Bigger's fate lacks the inevitability that created its power in the novel.

If you aren't confronted with the horror of the partly-human in Bigger, neither are you forced to confront, without the consolation of tears, the episodes which illuminate that horror. Key scenes in the novel measure the distance between the reader's reactions and Bigger's. Among them are the disposal of the white girl's body, when Bigger can't fit her body into the furnace and must cut off her head; and his callous, resigned murder of his "girl" Bessie, who for him is nothing more than a convenient appliance of adulthood.

Made-for-TV poetics: In the movie, the decapitation was deleted. As Wesley explained to *Black Film Review*, "We just decided not to do that. About half the audience would get up and leave at that point. It was not the kind of thing we wanted to show on screen."

Also gone is the murder of Bessie (played by Akosua Busia). Diane Silver and PBS producer Lindsay Law, who helped finance the movie, agreed that the second murder might kill audience empathy. "We asked ourselves many times," said Law in the *New York Times*, "why is an audience going to want to attempt to understand this man if he goes this step further?" Of course, it's that "step further" that takes you out of made-for-TV poetics and into the mandate of Wright's novel.

But nothing shows the movie's fundamen-

Continued on page 22